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ABSTRACT

Subsequent to a related hearing surveying the economics of family life, the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families of the House of Representatives met to hear statements addressing the topics of paternal absence and the role of fathers in society. The first panel presented an overview of paternal absence and father involvement. Testimony disputes the view that emphasizes father absence and lack of interest in child care. New levels of father interaction and skill in dealing with infants are described. The second panel concentrated on military families and paternal absence, the Army's efforts to deal with both the changing nature and circumstances of the military family, and stresses on and needs of military families. The third panel described effects of paternal absence and involvement on children. The importance of economic security for families is substantiated by findings of studies on black fathers and fathering. The final panel listed private-sector initiatives that address paternal absence and father involvement. Discussion focuses on what voluntary organizations are doing to serve youth, new institutional developments enhancing the roles of fathers in their families, and the impact of father absence on families of incarcerated men. Included in the document are the United States Army Chief of Staff's 1983 White Paper on the Army Family and Margaret Slack's collection of information about the single-parent family. (RH)

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PATERNAL ABSENCE AND FATHERS' ROLES

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C., ON NOVEMBER 10, 1983

Printed for the use of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families

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CONTENTS

	Page
Hearing held in Washington, DC, on November 10, 1983	1
Statement of:	
Bahlmann, David W., chair, National Collaboration for Youth, and executive director, Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America, Philadelphia, PA	106
Biller, Henry B., Ph.D., professor of psychology, University of Rhode Island, Kingston, RI	78
Heade, Rev. Herman, Jr., national director of urban affairs and church relations, Prison Fellowship, Washington, DC	121
Lamb, Michael E., Ph.D., professor, department of psychology, psychiatry and pediatrics, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT	85
Levine, James A., and Debra G. Klinman, Ph.D., the Fatherhood Project, Bank Street College of Education, New York, NY	115
McAdoo, John L., Ph.D., associate professor, School of Social Work and Community Planning, University of Maryland, Baltimore, MD	91
Whitworth, Shauna, director of research, Military Family Resource Center, Springfield, VA	48
Wickham, Gen. John A., Jr., Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, Washington, DC, accompanied by Maj. Gen. John H. Mitchell, Director, Human Resources Development, Department of the Army	17
Wilson, William P., M.D., professor of psychiatry, Duke University Medical Center, Durham, NC	12
Yogman, Michael W., M.D., associate chief, Division of Child Development, Children's Hospital, Department of Pediatrics, Harvard Medical School, Boston, MA	3
Prepared statements, letters, supplemental materials, etc.:	
• Bahlmann, David W., executive vice president of Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America, and chair of the National Collaboration for Youth:	
Letter to Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder, dated March 5, 1984	129
Members of the National Assembly of National Voluntary Health and Social Welfare Organizations, Inc., a list	114
Members of the National Collaboration for Youth, a list	115
Prepared statement of	111
Biller, Henry B., University of Rhode Island:	
Prepared statement of	82
"Therapy and Prevention," excerpt from an article entitled, Father Absence, Divorce, and Personality Development	128
Heade, Rev. Herman, of Prison Fellowship, prepared statement of	125
Hunter, E.J., Ph.D., Academy of Associated Psychotherapists, letter to Lindy Ittner, dated December 3, 1983, enclosing written testimony	168
Lamb, Michael E., professor of psychology, psychiatry, and pediatrics, adjunct professor of family and consumer studies, director of the training program in developmental psychology, University of Utah, codirector—the Fatherhood Project, prepared statement of	88
Levine, James A., project director, and Debra Klinman, Ph.D., project manager, the Fatherhood Project, Bank Street College of Education, New York City, NY, prepared statement of	117
Marriott, Hon. Dan., a Representative in Congress from the State of Utah, opening statement of	171
McAdoo, John L., Ph.D., associate professor, University of Maryland, School of Social Work and Community Planning, Baltimore, MD, prepared statement of	93
Miller, Hon. George, a Representative in Congress from the State of California, and chairman of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, opening statement of	170

BEST COPY

Page

Prepared statements, letters, supplemental materials, etc.—Continued
Schroeder, Hon. Patricia, a Representative in Congress from the State of Colorado, and chairwoman, Economic Security, Task Force, opening statement of 1
Smith, Shirley L., Cherry Point, NC, letter to Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, dated December 28, 1983, enclosing testimony 165
"The Single Parent Family," article from Education Institute, Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America, Philadelphia, PA 131
Whitworth, Shauna, director of research, Military Family Resource Center, Springfield, VA, prepared statement of 53
Wickham, Gen. John A., Jr., Chief of Staff, U.S. Army:
Prepared statement of 20
"The Army Family," white paper 1983 article entitled 23
Wilson, William P., M.D., Professor of Psychiatry, Duke University Medical Center, Durham, NC, prepared statement of 15
Yogman, Michael W., M.D., associate chief, Division of Child Development, Children's Hospital, Department of Pediatrics, Harvard Medical School, Boston, MA:
Letter to Congressman Dan Marriott, enclosing requested information, dated December 29, 1983 171
Letter to Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder, December 29, 1983, enclosing requested information, dated December 29, 1983 170
Prepared statement of 7

BEST COPY

PATERNAL ABSENCE AND FATHERS' ROLES

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1983

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
ECONOMIC SECURITY TASK FORCE,
SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES,
Washington, D.C.

The select committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:35 a.m., in room 1310, Longworth House Office Building, Hon. Patricia Schroeder, presiding.

Members present: Representatives Schroeder, Miller, Anthony, Levin, Sikorski, Marriott, Coats, Wolf, and Johnson.

Staff present: Alan J. Stone, staff director and counsel; Ann Rosewater, deputy staff director; Linda Ittner, professional staff; Linda Belachew, Christine Elliott-Groves, minority staff director; George Elser, minority counsel; and Joan Godley, committee clerk.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Good morning, I am happy to call the hearing to order this morning.

As Chair of the Task Force on Economic Security of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, I am very pleased to call to order this very exciting hearing.

I want to thank my ranking minority member who has worked so hard to make this hearing a success. I think it is terribly important because as we talk about family issues, people frequently want to make them just women's issues. Clearly, family issues are issues for both men and women which this committee has recognized. Today we focus on this very important subject.

Because of the time and the crunch, I am just going to put my opening remarks in the record. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Coats. And again, thank you for all your help.

[Opening statement of Cong. Patricia Schroeder follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO AND CHAIRWOMAN, TASK FORCE ON ECONOMIC SECURITY

I would like to welcome you to the second hearing of the Task Force on Economic Security of the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families. During our first hearing we surveyed the economics of family life, the cost of providing the basics for a family, and trends for the future.

Today we shift our attention to the role of fathers in our society. In recent years there has been increased interest in fathers and fathering. To learn more about this important subject we have set the focus of this hearing on Paternal Absence and Fathers' Roles.

The first panel will present an overview of paternal absence and father involvement. Much of the literature on fathers has stressed their absence, their disinterest,

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and their lack of competence in child care. Our first witness will dispute this view and describe new levels of father interaction and skill in dealing with their infants.

The second panel will concentrate on military families and paternal absence. We are delighted to hear from the Army Chief of Staff, who has made the army family a priority item on his agenda. We will learn about the Army's efforts to deal with both the changing nature and circumstances of the military family. We will hear from another witness about stresses on military families and their needs.

During the third panel we will hear experts describe the effects of paternal absence and involvement on children. At a time when twenty percent of children live in single parent homes we need to know the impact of this phenomenon on families and how we can promote the wellbeing of children in single parent homes. We will learn what studies on black fathers and fathering tell us about the importance of economic security for families.

The final panel will list private sector initiatives that address paternal absence and father involvement. We will be told what voluntary organizations are doing to serve the needs of our youth. Other witnesses will talk about new developments in schools, hospitals, social services, the courts, and among employers to enhance the roles of fathers in the family. The final witness will testify about father absence and its impact on the families of the incarcerated.

We think that this is a significant hearing. We need to know what the effects of broken homes are on children. We need to know how families cope when they are separated for work related reasons for short-term and long-term periods. We need to know what impact new forms of fathering have on the total family—children, fathers, and mothers.

We welcome our witnesses and look forward to learning from your testimony.

Mr. COATS. I thank the Chair for assisting in planning this hearing on a subject that I feel is extremely important, and one that is often overlooked. All of us know and recognize the importance of a mother in terms of raising children and shaping their development. But I think we have ignored the father, and it is important that we also focus on the role of the father.

Nothing has come home to me more this week than the importance of a mother at home since my children's mother is at a conference in Philadephia this week. I am being a mother and father, and finding it an impossible task. I am anxious for her to get home and resume that role. But I have gotten a real understanding of what it is like to be a mother, and it is tough, tough business. It is also tough business being a father. This hearing will focus on the role and the importance of the father in the family. I commend the Chair, the committee, the staff and all those who have worked so hard to bring this about.

I am going to forgo any more of an opening statement in the interest of moving on and hearing the witnesses that we have. And I thank the Chair.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Congressman Anthony, do you have anything you would like to add?

Mr. ANTHONY. I thank the Chair. I will be able to stay for part of the hearing. Unfortunately, I will have to go downstairs to another hearing, but interestingly enough, it has something to do with what we are doing today. We are trying to amend the laws on AFDC, and the principal recipients are single parents, but in this case mothers normally rather than fathers. And yesterday we did something on child support, but again it was more with runaway fathers than it was with runaway mothers. So I think today is going to prove an interesting balance between what is going on.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very much.

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And since he ended with runaway fathers, we will start the hearing today that deals with paternal absence and fathers' roles which I think will be very exciting.

Our first panel is Mr. Michael Yogman, M.D., from Children's Hospital Medical Center at the Harvard Medical School in Boston, Mass., and Mr. William Wilson, an M.D. and professor of psychiatry at Duke University Medical Center in Durham, N.C.

If both of you would like to come forward and sit at the table, we welcome you. You may proceed however you would like. We will put your full statement in the record. If you want to just summarize, that would be fine.

Dr. Yogman, would you like to lead off?

Very good. Thank you.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL W. YOGMAN, M.D., ASSOCIATE CHIEF, DIVISION OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT, CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL, DEPARTMENT OF PEDIATRICS, HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL, BOSTON, MASS.

Dr. YOGMAN. Madam Chairwoman Schroeder, Representative Coats, distinguished committee members, committee staff, and members of the press: My mentor and colleague at Harvard Medical School, Dr. T. Berry Brazelton, addressed the initial hearings of this committee several months ago and outlined a strategy of prevention to support American families during the stressful transition period of the 1980's.

With that goal in mind, I commend the members of this committee for convening today's hearing, because understanding and encouraging the father's active role in the family becomes, I think, one crucial means for preventing some of the adverse consequences of this stressful transition for our children and youth.

In the next 8 minutes I wish to address six points, all of which are elaborated in greater detail in the written testimony which I previously submitted. I also wish to submit some additional background material for inclusion in the record of this hearing.

My first point is that fathers are increasing their involvement in family life across all subcultures and all social classes, and these trends are long term and likely to continue.

Second of all, fathers can and do form significant and meaningful relationships with their infants right from birth. Fathers start out as quite similar to mothers in their competence, and in their capability to interact with young infants. Their sensitivity to the baby's behavior and rhythms is almost identical to that of mothers, and the infants clearly delight in their play with father.

A meaningful relationship between a father and his infant requires psychological availability as well as physical availability. Neither alone will suffice.

I would like now to show a 2-minute film clip of a 3-month-old male infant playing with his father in our research laboratory to illustrate this mutual delight and the competence of fathers that I have just alluded to.

If we can shut down the lights, we can see the film more clearly.

[A film was shown.]

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Dr. FOGMAN. I wanted to show you that clip to give you a sense of a real father and infant together, and to give you a sense of the kind of excitement and enthusiasm that I think fathers start out with in their relationship with an infant.

The sense of excitement, hope and tremendous opportunity that a new infant represents for a father as well as a new mother is an opportunity for renewal via a new generation; and I suggest that our task, the task of policymakers, is to find ways to support and sustain that kind of excitement, that kind of paternal involvement.

My third point is that fathers are much more likely to be their infant's play partner and to have a qualitatively distinct style of play that is more stimulating and arousing than play by mothers and infants.

My fourth point is that fathers' actual ongoing involvement with their children, as opposed to the kind of capability for involvement you have just seen in the film, is influenced by forces within the family such as mother's wishes and marital quality, and by forces outside the family such as stresses from illness, job loss, low income, and conflict between employment demands and family involvement. Fathers currently express considerably dissatisfaction with the time available for family life.

My fifth point is that father involvement during the perinatal period shortly after birth is at a very high level, currently approaching 100 percent across all social classes and subcultures. This represents a rather dramatic and startling change from even 10 years ago. Minimal, brief, inexpensive interventions involving parental modeling, education, and demonstrations of newborn behavior can have a dramatic effect on prolonging paternal involvement.

My sixth and final point is that father participation in school programs and involvement with older children seem to diminish rapidly after infancy. While a better understanding of this phenomenon is needed, conflicts between employment policies and family life and the lack of meaningful outreach programs for fathers of school-age children are likely explanations.

Areas where policy interventions could be effective in sustaining greater father involvement in family life include courses in parenting, child-care, and child development for school-age children of both sexes; changes in employment policies such as limited paid parental leave programs, better outreach to fathers by schools, and equally important, changes in health insurance plan reimbursement incentives so that counseling and human service consultations for both parents are reimbursed on an equal basis with medical/technical diagnostic procedures.

I will briefly elaborate on each of those points, but more explanation can be found in the written testimony.

First, apart from any response to the increase in women's employment, I believe that men are also seeking increased emotional closeness with their infants as part of a men's movement toward fuller personhood and as a reaction against the alienation and burnout of a purely instrumental role of family provider.

Changes in men's participation in what has been called family work are not transient, but are a long-term trend and likely to continue, as evidenced by a fair amount of survey data. They are oc-

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curring across social classes and subcultural groups, and the net effect is that infants today do receive more of their fathers' time than in the recent past during the perinatal period.

My second point: Within contemporary Western society the evidence that fathers and infants can develop a meaningful relationship right from birth is impressive. Furthermore, the similarities between the psychological experience of pregnancy and infant care for mothers and fathers are striking, even including the presence of psychosomatic symptoms in men during pregnancy such as nausea, vomiting, abdominal pain, and headache.

During the perinatal period fathers are almost now routinely present during labor and delivery, and their support lessens maternal distress, shortens labor and may even improve pregnancy outcomes.

Third, regardless of the amount of time fathers spend with their infants, our own research shows that they are much more likely to be the infant's play partner than the mother, and that fathers' play tends to be more arousing and physical with the infant.

I can probably more easily describe the specifics of this play by describing a game played by the father and baby we just saw in the film. When his baby was only 6 weeks of age, this father began to play a pull to sit game with his baby, pulling the baby up in the chair by his arms, both baby and father imitating each others facial expressions during this little exercise game.

We see examples of these games between fathers and infants starting in the first few weeks. For example, the father of a 23-day-old little girl infant begins tapping her around her mouth, and the slightest little wisp of a smile from her captures him and enthusiastically reinforces him to continue with this behavior. It is important to note that father's participation in caregiving tasks such as diapering and bathing seems much more modifiable than these play differences and more closely related to role than to gender.

Fourth, fathers' participation in family life can vary from total physical absence due to death or desertion to psychological unavailability as might occur if a father was depressed after loss of a job, and finally, to an ideal combination of physical and emotional availability which represents an unequivocally positive paternal contribution to an infant or child's life.

A father's actual ongoing involvement with his child is influenced both by forces within the family and by those external to the family. Probably the single most important influence on father involvement is the mother's wishes. The mother seems to function much as a gatekeeper, regulating the father's involvement with the infant. The mother continues to influence a father's relationship with his infant even when he is not home, since mother conveys a representation of father in his absence which can be either positive or negative.

Forces outside the family also have a major impact on father involvement. Stressful events such as maternal illness, a cesarean section birth or the premature birth of an infant may act to increase paternal involvement as a coping mechanism and support for the mother. In the case of prematurity, enhanced paternal involvement seems also to benefit the infant's developmental outcome.

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Conversely, paternal job loss with accompanying depression or even job insecurity is likely to diminish psychological, and perhaps even physical availability of father to the child. Paternal job insecurity has even been associated with increased frequency of illness in children.

Employment policies and work schedules probably have the most powerful influence of all on fathers' role with children and youth, and the influence in general is not a supportive one. In a recent pilot interview study of fathers I conducted during the perinatal period, fathers expressed considerable dissatisfaction with employer policies concerning childbirth leave or even sick days during childbirth. One father spoke to me about having used up his vacation time and his sick time: "The only way I was able to get a day or two to be with my wife and new baby at the time of birth was to pay someone else to work for me." I think that indicates the determination and motivation of this man to be with his family at a crucial time in spite of considerable negative incentives by his employer.

Even limited, paid, short-term parental leave for fathers is terribly important to these men. Employers such as AT&T are already noting that unmet family concerns may decrease employee productivity, and this, I think, may provide the best incentive for change by the private sector.

I will just mention briefly and refer you to my written testimony regarding an increasingly important phenomenon in family life: the occurrence of shift work by families as a way of coping with child care and the dangers that that poses for our children.

Fifth, as I outlined in my written testimony, the limited research available suggests that father involvement is beneficial for children and youth, and therefore, it seems wise to support continuing involvement. We have already witnessed the enthusiasm of this new father and infant during early infancy on film.

It is not surprising that dramatic changes in father involvement during labor and delivery have occurred during this perinatal period. Men are increasingly participating in prenatal classes, in postpartum classes and in caregiving demonstrations.

Inexpensive, simple interventions during this time have surprisingly long-lasting effects on sustaining father involvement. Several educational programs have shown that brief interventions with fathers in the perinatal period influences their attitudes, caregiving skills and knowledge of infant capabilities for as long as 3 months.

Demonstrations of newborn behavior to fathers of newborns has also been shown to influence paternal involvement for as long as 6 months.

Parent education must begin by teaching parenting skills to school-age boys and girls if we are to promote the involvement of fathers with children over the long term. Several schools now offer this curriculum and scheduled witnesses from the Bank Street project will describe this in more detail later in the morning. The workplace represents an equally important site to reach men with preparenting classes.

The high levels of father involvement with infants that we have seen on film in the first few months and years of life do not currently appear to be sustained. While systematic data are not avail-

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able, fathers are rarely seen in preschool or school settings; and we must be concerned that they are less available to their children at home during this period as well.

We need new research to understand whether and why father involvement diminishes rapidly after children reach age 2, and we need to find ways to sustain paternal involvement and build on the hope and optimism of the perinatal period that we saw earlier.

More outreach by the staff of schools is likely to be helpful, as are changes in employment policies and greater availability of educational programs for fathers as well as mothers.

Finally, since stressful events are fairly common and a typical paternal response to stress is an emotional withdrawal from children, we need to change reimbursement incentives so that fathers can more readily seek counseling services to cope with these stresses.

In conclusion, even when our social policies and programs satisfactorily reflect an appreciation and greater knowledge of the father-infant relationship, men will still have to make personal choices regarding fatherhood. Our goals should be to make it easier for men to remain involved with their children. Any efforts to change policy toward fathers should aim to increase the options available to fathers as well as mothers rather than promoting alternative constraints. At the same time, shifts in parental responses to this period of stressful transition for the American family should remain sensitive to the implications for children and their needs.

Ideally, our social policies should help families to continue to seek and to find an optimal balance between the responsibility and rewards of both work and parenthood.

[Prepared statement of Michael W. Yogman, M.D., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHAEL W. YOGMAN, M.D., ASSOCIATE CHIEF, DIVISION OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT, CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL, DEPARTMENT OF PEDIATRICS, HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL, BOSTON, MASS.

Ten years after extensive scientific study of the father-infant relationship, it is useful to reflect on the significance of this research with regard to what we have learned about fathers and children, what we still need to know, and what the policy implications are for this committee and for other public and private leaders.

I will address and later elaborate upon, six principal points:

1. Fathers are increasing their involvement in family life perhaps across all subcultures and social classes. These are long-term trends, likely to continue.

2. Fathers can and do form significant and meaningful relationships with their infants right from birth. Fathers start out as quite similar to mothers in their competence and capability to interact with young infants. Their sensitivity to the baby's behavior and rhythms is almost identical to that of mothers. A meaningful relationship between a father and his infant requires psychological availability as well as physical availability: Neither alone will suffice.

3. Fathers are more likely to be their infant's play partner and have a qualitatively distinct style of play that is more stimulating and arousing than play among mothers and infants.

4. Father's actual ongoing involvement with his child (as opposed to his capability for involvement) is influenced by forces within the family (mother's wishes, marital quality) and by forces outside the family, such as stress from illness or job loss or conflicts between employment demands and family involvement. Fathers express considerable dissatisifaction with the limited time available for family life.

5. Involvement of fathers during the perinatal period is at a very high level, currently approaching 100 percent across social classes and sub-cultures. This represents a dramatic change from ten years ago. Minimal brief, inexpensive interven-

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tions involving parental modeling and education have a dramatic effect on prolonging paternal involvement.

6. Father participation in programs (schools) and involvement with older children seems to diminish rapidly after infancy. While a better understanding of this phenonmenon is needed, conflicts between employment policies and family schedules and the lack of meaningful outreach programs for fathers of school-age children are likely explanations. Areas where policy interventions could be effective in sustaining greater father involvement in family life include courses in parenting, child care and child development services for school-age children of both sexes, changes in employment policies such as limited paid parental leave programs, better outreach to fathers by schools, and changes in health insurance plan reimbursement incentives so that counseling and human service consultations (for both parents) are reimbursed on an equal basis with medical/technical diagnostic procedures.

I. SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGES AND FATHER INVOLVEMENT

The American family is in a time of transition and stress. Parents are now more isolated from extended family members; they move more often and have fewer long-term friends and neighbors. As a result, parents need more support from within the family and from the public and private sector. Members of this Committee have struggled hard in the last few years to protect many of the current private and public programs which provide critical support to families.

Within the family, father is the most readily available source of support in helping to raise children. Sociocultural changes in Western societies provide the background for understanding why fathers are becoming more involved with their infants. The massive entry of women into the labor force has loosened many of the old sex-role stereotypes for men and women and now permits wider variations in the behavior and roles of the two parents with their infants. In a 1978 U.S. survey, 44 percent of women between the ages of 18–34 with children under the age of 3 were employed.[1] Furthermore, women's workforce participation represents economic necessity rather than career enhancement or feminist ideology; in families where women work full time they contribute 40 percent of family income.[2]

That men are more actively picking up the slack in family life attributable to the absence of working women is a reality, but men are also seeking increased emotional closeness with their infants as part of a men's movement toward fuller personhood and as a reaction against the alienation and burnout of the purely instrumental role of family provider. While some of the publicity about greater paternal involvement with infants may reflect social acceptability, a 1979 U.S. national survey of father participation in family work does suggest a real increase over the period 1960–1970.[3] Between 1975 and 1981, men's participation in family work has continued to increase at the same rate so that these changes are not transient but rather long-term trends and likely to continue. They are occurring across social class and sub-cultural groups. The net effect is that children today receive more of their father's time than in our recent past.

II. COMPETENCE OF FATHERS AND INFANTS

While older theories of child development suggest that parenting is predominantly instinctual, biologically determined, and exclusively maternal, a careful look at scientific studies conducted in the last ten years does not support such a view of paternal incompetence with young infants. The evidence suggests that biological constraints are much less significant determinants of male care of infants than ecological influences such as the modal social structure.

Within contemporary Western society, the evidence that fathers and infants can develop a meaningful relationship right from birth is impressive. Furthermore, the similarities between the psychological experience of pregnancy and infant care for mothers and fathers are striking, even including the presence of psychosomatic symptoms in men during pregnancy such as nausea, vomiting, abdominal pain and backache. During the perinatal period, fathers are now almost routinely present during labor and delivery. In fact, husband support during this period lessens maternal distress, shortens labor and may even improve pregnancy outcomes.[4]

Since 1974, together with colleagues at Boston's Children's Hospital, I have studied the social interaction of fathers with their infants of two weeks to six months of age.[5] These studies have shown that fathers start out as competent and capable of skilled and sensitive social interaction with young infants. Fathers could be just as sensitive to their baby's behavior and rhythms of arousal as mothers and the infants clearly delight in this play with both parents. (Father-infant film here.[6]

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These early interactions form the basis for older infant and toddlers to display equivalent attachments to fathers as well as mothers.[7]

While similarities exist in parental competence between father-infant and mother-infant relationships, there is evidence to suggest that the relationships are complementary and not redundant,[8] and that in times of stress the father-infant relationship may even compensate for an inadequate mother-infant relationship and vice-versa.

1. Father-infant play

Regardless of the amount of time fathers spend with their infants, they are more likely to be the infant's play partner than the mother and father's play tends to be more stimulating, physical, vigorous, rough-and-tumble, and arousing for the infant.[9] These findings are surprisingly robust in that similar findings have been replicated with different age infants in different situations[10] and persist even in studies of primary caregiver fathers in the U.S.[11, 5] and in studies of non-traditional fathers taking advantage of paternity leave in Sweden.[12] It is interesting to speculate that these play differences may become less tied to gender as socialization of young children changes. It is important to note that the performance of caregiving tasks seems more modifiable and more closely related to role rather than to gender. Nevertheless, these differences in play suggest that fathers seem more likely to develop a heightened, arousing and playful relationship with their infants[5] and to provide a more novel and complex environment.[14]

III. INFLUENCES ON PATERNAL INVOLVEMENT

In spite of recent changes, fathers spend much less time with their children than mothers do. Even so, surveys in the U.S. indicate that at least 25–50 percent of fathers are involved in some caretaking responsibilities.[13]

Father's participation in family life can vary from total physical absence due to death or desertion; to psychological unavailability as might occur if a father was depressed after loss of a job, to physical and emotional availability which represents the only unequivocally positive paternal (or parental) contribution to an infant or child's life.

Father's actual ongoing involvement with his child is influenced by forces within the family and by those external to the family. Probably the single most important influence on father involvement is the mother's wishes. The mother seems to function much as a "gatekeeper" regulating the father's involvement with the infant. The mother continues to influence a father's relationship with his infant even when he is not home since mother conveys a representation of father in his absence.[15] When a mother first returns to work full-time, a transitional period occurs during which she actually spends more time with the infant in the evening which is associated with lower levels of father-infant interaction.[16]

The quality of the marital relationship is another intra-familial influence on paternal involvement. Fathers (as well as mothers) have better relationships with their infants where marriages are free of conflict. Conversely, in marriages filled with conflict, spouses may attempt to undermine the partner's parenting role.

Forces outside the family also have a major impact on father involvement. Stressful events such as maternal illness, a Cesarean section birth or the premature birth of an infant may act to increase paternal involvement as a family coping mechanism to support the mother. In the case of prematurity, enhanced paternal involvement may actually be beneficial to the infant's developmental outcome.[16] Conversely, paternal job loss with accompanying depression or even job insecurity is likely to diminish the psychological if not physical availability of the father to the child. Paternal job insecurity has been associated with increased illness in children.[17]

Employment policies and work schedules probably have the most powerful influence of all on father's role with children and youth and the influence is not a supportive one. In a recent pilot interview study of fathers I conducted during the perinatal period, fathers expressed considerable dissatisfaction with employee policies concerning childbirth leave or even sick days during childbirth. One father stated that he "had used his sick time and was not eligible for vacation." Another father who had used his sick time managed to pay a friend to work for him, such is the motivation of men to be with their families during this time. Even limited, paid short-term parental leave for fathers[18] is terribly important to these men. Allowing both parents to take sick days when children are ill (in addition to when they themselves are ill) is another example of a simple change in employment policy that is highly supportive of fathers, mothers and children. Employers such as AT&T are

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already aware that unmet family concerns may decrease employee productivity[19] and this may provide the best incentive for change.

An increasingly common response by families to work/family conflict is the growing pattern of shift work in which two parents work different shifts. In ten percent of U.S. families, parents' work schedules do not overlap.[20] Serious questions must be raised about the impact of this social experiment on children: what percent of these children are unsupervised by adults and do they contribute to the alarming statistic released by this committee's counterpart in the Senate that 1 million children under age 5 are unsupervised much of the day. By contrast, a recent study of flexible work schedules suggests that this encourages fathers to increase their involvement in childcare.[21]

IV. PATERNAL INFLUENCES ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT

The influence of the father-infant relationship on later cognitive, social and emotional development of the infant has not been well-studied. The influence of the father-infant relationship on the infant during these early months is suggested by the report that, at least for males, increased father involvement at home is associated with greater infant social responsiveness at five months of age during a developmental test.[22] Infants whose fathers participate highly in caregiving cry less after separation from parents and when left with a stranger than infants whose fathers are less involved.[13] In our own longitudinal study of healthy fullterm infants in Boston, paternal involvement defined by the sum of measures of prenatal and perinatal involvement and caregiving was correlated ($r = .39$) with infant developmental scores at 9 months (Bayley MDI). A simple measure of the involvement of young fathers living in Dublin, Ireland also correlate with 12 month cognitive scores and, when combined with measures of parental social class, neonatal behavior and maternal socialization goals in a multiple regression analysis, 57 percent of the variance in cognitive scores at 12 months was accounted for.[23] Concurrent predictions of infant developmental scores at 16 and 22 months were related to the father's positive perceptions of the child and his ability to engage the child in play and to anticipate independence on the part of the child. Predictions of concurrent social competence were related to the father's verbal and playful behavior and for girls, his expectations of independence.[10] Boys in particular have been found to be more autonomous when both parents are warm and affectionate.[24]

Most attempts to assess the impact of the father-infant relationship on later development have looked at father-absent families and the relationship to sex role identification. Father-absence, particularly prior to age five[25] has been shown to influence masculine sex role adoption and cognitive style among boys[26, 27, 28, 29] and heterosexual roles among girls.[30] However, these studies have been criticized for confounding both the underlying reason for the father's absence and its effect on the mother.[31]

V. INTERVENTIONS TO SUSTAIN FATHER INVOLVEMENT WITH CHILDREN

If even limited research suggests that father involvement is beneficial for children and youth, it seems wise to support continuing involvement. In fathers as well as mothers, the birth of an infant captivates them with a sense of excitement, hope, and a tremendous opportunity for renewal via a new generation. It not surprising that dramatic changes in father involvement have occurred during this perinatal period. In 1972, only 27 percent of American hospitals allowed fathers to be present during birth. By 1980, the figure had risen to 80 percent and it currently approaches 100 percent for all social classes and all subcultures. We should be aware that hospital policies changed primarily as a result of economic incentives with a falling birth rate hospitals were competing for business and strove to offer more attractive services to families. Men are increasingly participating in prenatal classes and in postpartum classes and caregiving demonstrations.

Inexpensive, simple interventions during this time have surprisingly longlasting effects on sustaining father involvement. Postpartum support groups have documented father's unmet needs for discussing their concerns and fears without being labeled aberrant. Several educational programs have shown that brief interventions with fathers in the perinatal period could influence their attitudes, caregiving skills, and knowledge of infant capabilities for as long as three months.[32] In Sweden, fathers who received simple instructions on bathing, changing, and feeding in the perinatal period were found to have higher degrees of infant caretaking activity as recorded on a maternal questionnaire six weeks after discharge.[33] Demonstrations of the Brazelton Newborn Behavioral Assessment (taking 20 minutes) to fathers in the newborn period has been shown to influence paternal involvement for as long as 6

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months.[34, 35] Simple intervention with fathers of older children (instructing them to play with their 12-month-old sons 50 minutes a day) were also effective. One month later, infants in the intervention group showed greater degrees of closeness with their fathers during free play.[36]

Parent education must begin with school age children if we are to promote the involvement of fathers with children over the long term. In a few rare instances which will be discussed in more detail by The Fatherhood Project Staff, programs exist in which 7 year old boys are taught to take care of babies as part of a school curriculum. Adolescents need educational programs in high schools that provide information about parenting and child development. The workplace can also be a very important site in efforts to reach men with preparenting classes.

The high levels of father involvement with infants in the first few months and years of life do not currently appear to be sustained. While systematic data are not available, fathers are rarely seen in preschool or school settings and we must be concerned that they are less available to their children at home during this period as well. We need new research to understand why father involvement diminishes rapidly after children reach age 2 and we need to find ways to sustain paternal involvement and build on the hope and optimism of the perinatal period. More outreach by staff of schools is likely to be helpful as are changes in employment policies, and greater availability of educational programs for fathers as well as mothers. Finally, since stressful events are fairly common and a typical paternal response to stress is an emotional withdrawal from children,[37] we need to change reimbursement incentives so that fathers can more readily seek counseling services to cope with these stresses.

In conclusion, even when our social policies and programs satisfactorily reflect appreciation and greater knowledge of the father-infant relationship, men will still have to make personal choices regarding fatherhood. Our goal should be to make it easier for men to remain involved with their children. Any efforts to change policy toward fathers should aim to increase the options available to father as well as mothers rather than promoting alternative constraints. At the same time, parental responses to this period of stressful transition for the American family, should remain sensitive to the implications for children and their needs. Families will continue to seek and, it is hoped, to find an optimal balance between the responsibilities and rewards of both work and parenthood. Ideally, an individual's need to achieve economic security and adult fulfillment should not compromise his or her opportunity to experience the emotional and creative joys that flow from intimate participation in the growth of a child.

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Mrs. SCHLOEDER. Thank you very much, Doctor. It was very illuminating. And now I think we will move to Dr. Wilson.

We welcome you, and we are delighted to hear what you have to say.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM P. WILSON, M.D., PROFESSOR OF PSYCHIATRY, DUKE UNIVERSITY MEDICAL CENTER, DURHAM, N.C.

Dr. WILSON. Madam Chairperson and members of the committee, I come speaking from a point of view which has to do with the development of mental disease in patients from broken homes, the role of family structure and particularly the role of the father in the development of that mental disease.

As you know, it is estimated that 40 percent of children born in America today will grow up in a broken home. In 1974 only 14 percent of children could anticipate this fate. At that time 18 million children experienced a disruption of parental relationship. Since 85 percent of the parents remarried, and of these 40 percent divorced

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a second time, a huge percentage of children could expect to experience the trauma of a broken home more than twice.

These children are at risk psychiatrically. The risks are as follows: First, the child may become psychiatrically disturbed; second, that they may turn away from marriage as a satisfactory mode of human relationships; and third, the children of divorce can develop psychiatric disorders in later adult life that have as their origin the broken home which is at the least a contributing factor.

These risks arise because of the stresses that arise in the predivorce period. Conflicted marriages make for conflicted children. Emotional divorce breeds affectionless children, skewed marriages lead to dominant or dependent children, and neurotic marriages may load the child with feelings that contribute to the development of problems in later life.

Divorce when it occurs results in grief associated with shame and anger. These emotional burdens arise as a result of a number of problems. During the last few years I have seen and investigated about 1,400 broken marriages, and one of the great problems is economic. The mother is suddenly thrust into the work force with inadequate training. Many times the fathers refuse to support the mother or harasses the mother in an effort to avoid any economic responsibility. It is a chronic problem at all socioeconomic levels from class 1 through class 5.

There also are other emotional problems that the child feels. Only a day or two ago a young man described his feeling as his mother deserted his father. He stood on the lawn at age 12 with tears streaming down his face begging his mother to come back. You hear the same stories from young adults whose fathers have deserted with the same emotional response.

They feel horribly rejected, and this often influences their later life relationships with other people, particularly persons of the same sex. Many of them have a fear of the future. They feel deserted and hopeless. They also have unrealized expectations and hopes that are dashed, particularly if there are numerous separations before the divorce and the leaving finally takes place.

They have feelings of emptiness and loneliness because their mother is often harassed as well as required to support the family. She's not available, the father is not available, so that the children feel that no one really cares about them. They will describe over and again to you the terrible feelings of loneliness that they have.

Many of them are angry. They are angry that their father was not available, that he had deserted and left. And since most of the time it is the father who deserts and leaves, it's quite clear that both female children as well as male children develop very negative attitudes toward men in their subsequent relationships to them.

After divorce, as I've already pointed out, that there is an unresolved grief. It's as if the parent has died, and yet has not died. They are still available and have a very profound effect on their lives. Still, they are not able to grieve and detach themselves emotionally from the father, who many times has little or no interest in them.

Now, after children of divorce marry many problems arise in role modeling. Young men often have problems because the mother

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projects a variety of role models. Sometimes she has turned her son into a substitute husband. Other times she takes out all of her hostility and anger on him and attributes to him the same problems that his father had, the same personality patterns. It he tries to live up to her expectations he finds that it is beyond his capacity. Children of divorce also have poor impulse control.

Many mothers feel incapable of administering firm discipline. If you have a 6 foot 2 son and the mother is 5 foot 4, it is difficult for her to discipline that child and deal with him in a way that is effective.

Since the behavior of parents before, during, and after divorce most often reflects a disparate value system, the child also grows up with poorly defined values.

In the past our interest has been in comparing the homelife of normal people with people with mental problems. We came to the conclusion that normal people come from homes where there is a stable, harmonious marriage of the parents, where there is love and order in the home, where there is administration of consistent and just discipline, where roles are well defined, and where the presentation of a traditional value system is presented, and where there is a philosophy to live by, this gives some structure to their thinking and to their lives.

The studies of people like Grinker, Valliant and ourselves have clearly demonstrated the influence of these particular basic principles of home life.

In contrast, the observations of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck or people who have been delinquent—have clearly demonstrated that you can grow up in the ghetto, and if you have a well-structured home life, your chances of being a normal person and being out of that ghetto in a few years—is extremely high. Whereas if you grow up in a broken home with an harassed mother where value systems are poorly presented and where discipline is often harsh and unjust and inconsistent, you will grow up to be delinquent. At the end of 20 years' followup, you will still be delinquent and still living in the ghetto.

The same thing can be said to be true about heroin addicts and alcoholics. In our study of over 450 alcoholics and 80 heroin addicts—we found that the absent father is a very common phenomenon. As a matter of fact, it is the rule rather than the exception. He is in the home on rare occasions or has deserted. The child grows up in a world without a father.

We find also that there is enormous distortion in the structure of the homes of manic depressive patients and schizophrenic patients. There father operates in roles which are grossly distorted. Many times they are emotionally absent.

In a different version, Frances Welsing, had emphasized that the biggest problem facing blacks in America today is the absence of the father from the home and the role reversals found in the black family. Her observations now are beginning to apply equally to all families, whether they are black or white or other racial origins.

It is quite clear that we do have to have family life which is well structured, which is harmonious, and which is likely to produce good citizens. Plato made that observation in his Republic, 2,000 years ago; and if you go back to some of the early Egyptian writ-

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ings, the same thing was true. If you expect to have a society that is stable, you have to have stable homes in that society. And the ability or the ease with which fathers may desert all of their responsibilities in our society today is going to be deleterious in the long run. We will have a generation or two of very disturbed people.

Finally I would add that we also have looked at the family structure of abused children who have grown up. Most of these children are now what we call borderline personality disorders. They too often have a father who is in and out of the home or is not available on a consistent basis.

Now, just to summarize what I had to say, and I did not prepare any long statements because I think the data and the literature speaks for itself. The absence of the father from the home has the following effects on a growing child.

After the second year of life it profoundly distorts the development of normal role assumption. A person really does not come to know who he is within his own sex. Second, it is a primary cause of low self-esteem. Unfortunately, my reference to this was left out of the bibliography attached, but it is to Coopersmith who has a book on the subject. His work and the work of Rosenberg has shown that the father's presence in the home is an absolute necessity for the development of good self-esteem in males. Our own studies have demonstrated quite clearly that it is also necessary for the mother to be in the home for a for a female to develop good self-esteem.

Third, it creates a model of separation and/or divorce for the management of marital conflict in their own lives as they become adults.

Fourth, it also distorts values development so that the child has a tendency to adopt peer values rather than the conventional values of the parent with whom they continue to live. We find this very frequently among heroin addicts and alcoholics.

One of the important things that I think has to be faced in this whole issue is the child's needs. Julian Marias, a Spanish philosopher who wrote a book called "Metaphysical Anthropology," has pointed out that all children have radical needs for a variety of people in their lives.

They first of all have a radical need for their parents and for pair-ents, not just a parent. And as they grow, these parents are installed in them so that they become part of the child, and as the child grows up and begins the separation and individuation of their lives, having had parents and will determine what kind of personality structure they are going to have when they reach maturity.

[Prepared statement of William P. Wilson, M.D., follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WILLIAM P. WILSON, M.D., PROFESSOR OF PSYCHIATRY, DUKE UNIVERSITY MEDICAL CENTER, DURHAM, N.C.

It is estimated that forty percent of the children born in America today will grow up in a broken home. In 1974 only fourteen percent of children could anticipate this fate. At that time eighteen million children experienced the disruption of parental relationship. Since eighty five percent of the parents remarried and of these forty percent divorced a second time, a large percentage of children could expect to experience the trauma more than twice since eighty percent of third marriages end in divorce. These children are at risk psychiatrically. The risks are as follows:

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1. The child may become psychiatrically disturbed as a child.
2. The child will turn away from marriage as a satisfactory mode of human relationship.
3. The children of divorce can develop psychiatric disorders in adult life.

These risks arise because of the stresses that arise in the predivorce period. Conflicted marriages make for conflicted children, emotional divorce breeds affectionless children, skewed marriages lead to dominant or dependent children, and neurotic marriages may load the child with feelings that contribute to the development of problems in later life.[1]

Divorce, when it occurs, results in grief associated with shame and anger, these are rarely resolved.

After divorce there is fear, anger, and sorrow (unresolved grief). As most children remain with their mother, there are a variety of problems that may arise as a result of inadequate role modeling. Among these the most handicapping is the projection of role models on sons. In both sexes problems in separation-individuation occur so that children of divorce are often quite immature. Since many mothers feel incapable of administering firm discipline, the developing child may develop poor impulse control. Since the behavior of parents before, during, and after divorce most often reflects disparate value systems, the child may grow up with a poorly defined value system.

The study of normal individuals reveals that there are five factors that influence the development of a normal personality in children.

1. A stable, harmonious marriage of the parents.
2. Love and order in the home.
3. The administration of consistant, just discipline.
4. The presentation of a traditional value system.
5. The presentation of a philosophy to live by.

The studies of Grinker,[2] Vaillant,[3] and Wilson [4 5 6 7] have clearly demonstrated their influence.

In contrast the observations of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck,[8] on juvenile delinquents and normal controls, Wilson on heroin addicts, alcoholics, manic-depressive and schizophrenic patients, as well as borderline personalities with normal controls have clearly demonstrated that patients with psychiatric disease come from homes where the basic principles necessary for the development of normal personality do not structure family life.

Frances Welsing [9] has emphasized that the biggest problem facing blacks in American today is the absence of the father from the home and the role reversals found in the black family. Her observation now applies equally to all families.

The absence of the father from the home has the following effects on a growing child:

1. After the second year of life, it profoundly distorts the development of normal role assumption.
2. It is a primary cause of low self-esteem.
3. It creates a model of separation and/or divorce for the management of marital conflict in their own lives.
4. It may so distort value development that the child adopts peer values rather than the convertional values of the parent with whom they continue to live.
5. It creates a personality substrate that can contribute to the development of other psychopathology such as delinquency, alcoholism, drug addiction, and neurosis in adult life.

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Mrs. SCHROEDER. Dr. Wilson, we have a slight problem since that that is our second bell. We are going to have to recess for a few minutes to go vote.

What we are going to have to do because of the time crunch and because General Wickham has a time problem, too, is to have General Wickham and Shauna Whitworth on the next panel. If you two could wait, we would like to ask you questions with the third panel if that would be all right.

So when we come back, we could start with General Wickham and Shauna Whitworth. We hope you can stand by. We will be right back as soon as we vote.

[Recess.]

Mrs. SCHROEDER. General, we want to thank you for being here. I apologize for the time difficulties around here. If we could only control our time, we could have a more sane life. You know how that goes because you are an old hand around this place.

We are very, very honored that you would be here, and we are very moved by the kind of work that you are doing. We look forward to your testimony.

If you do not mind, we would like for you to proceed, and then we will move to the next witness on the panel.

Thank you for being here, and the floor is yours.

STATEMENT OF GEN. JOHN A. WICKHAM, JR., CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. ARMY, WASHINGTON, D.C., ACCOMPANIED BY MAJ. GEN. JOHN H. MITCHELL, DIRECTOR, HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT, DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

General WICKHAM. Congresswoman Schroeder, thank you very much for the opportunity to appear before this congressional subcommittee and the members here.

I would like to introduce the staff assistants that have much more detailed knowledge than I do—Major General Mitchell from the Army staff and Ms. Whitworth from the Military Family Resource Center.

What I would like to do, ma'am, would be to put my formal statement in the record and to give you an overview of it.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Without objection, that will be wonderful.

General WICKHAM. So that you will have a feel for the nature of my commitment to this important work that your committee is undertaking here I would like to mention a recent operation.

The operation in Grenada brings into sharp focus the importance of family action efforts. Young soldiers who were quickly taken from their military camps and moved to a hostile environment, young soldiers that performed superbly, very professionally, overcame difficult resistance, they freed Americans and they established law and order in an anarchic situation.

But these young soldiers, probably the best that I have seen in almost 34 years of service, are better because they are supported by an institutional structure that takes care of families, because the Army is people, and people come from families, and the stronger the family structure—I realize I am preaching to the choir—the stronger the family structure, the better the soldier, the more ready he will be, the more committed and forward looking he will

be, rather than looking over his shoulder and being concerned about the problems behind him.

And so inevitably, as the Army seeks to perform its mission with ready forces, which is our obligation to the American people, we need to be committed to the extent resources allow to taking care of families, because the two are inextricably related.

Someone said a few years ago that we enlist soldiers, but we retain families; and I think that is an apt description of the need for doing better.

Now, as you may know, the Army is about 50 percent married. For 20 percent of these wives, English is a second language. Most of these wives are very young. The families have very small children. Many of the wives do not drive. Many of them live in trailer courts, in the United States, and for them an architecture of support which reaches out and brings them into connection with the facilities that are available on the post, that brings them religious values into their life if they need that, that brings counseling, if they need that, for family circumstances, all of this is valuable. And that, in part, is what we have tried to do in developing our whole approach toward dealing with families.

Let me touch very briefly on several themes that we are committed to. There are three of them. I have touched on them in greater detail in my formal statement.

One of them deals with partnership, another with wellness, and a third with a sense of community. Just a word or two about each.

Partnership: What we are trying to do is to involve the family members more in the activities, administrative activities that go on on our installations. Family members are invited to sit on selection boards that review the design and construction of projects for family quarters. They are involved in the councils that deal with post exchanges and commissaries so that they can say we need to get these kinds of baby foods, we need to get foods that have less salt in them, et cetera. So they are deeply involved.

Special problems are posed by constant relocation of our forces. We are trying to work arrangements so that wives that work—and most of these young wives do work, either full time or part time—to find relevant employment for them on their new installations. So that as the husband, or in the case of a female member of the service, the spouse, moves to the new duty location, and was working, then we would try to help them find work related to their speciality.

I might say as an offshoot here, Mrs. Schroeder, that we appreciate the initiative that you have taken in arranging through the Congress here support for dependent student travel overseas; 43 percent of the Army is deployed overseas, and the turbulence that comes from that and the expense that comes from that contributes to serious problems in retainability and serious morale problems in the families.

I saw that for 3 years in Korea. If you had a child in college in the United States, it cost $1,000 to bring that child to Korea because space-available airlift, in most instances, is not available. But your initiative here and the Congress initiative to fund dependent travel, if they are in school, will have a resounding impact on the

morale of our families, our people, see the Congress as being genuinely interested.

The second broad scene that we are committed to is one of wellness. Part of our effort there involves a family advocacy program where we are working on problems of spouse and child abuse through detection, prevention, and better education.

Another one is our efforts to deal with drug and alcohol abuse, not only with the service member but also with the family and the youths in that family. I am deeply committed to dealing authoritatively and helpfully with problems of drug and alcohol abuse in the Army. I believe that they have no place among our uniformed people. And to the extent we can contribute to reducing abuse in the families, we are all better off for it.

A third area of wellness is in the exceptional family member program where we try to identify and treat handicapped family members so that they, as they move, their husband or sponsor moves to a new location, that the exceptional child would find adequate medical facilities or adequate educational facilities to deal with their special situation.

I might add here also as an offshoot that the symbolic actions taken by the Congress are very important. We are trying, as you see, with wellness to create an uplifting medical and psychological environment for our families and our soldiers, and that does involve medical care. But when the Congress undertakes an initiative such as the one that was proposed of a $10 service fee every time you go to the hospital, many of our young soldiers are close to the margin in terms of their economic situation, that kind of $10 fee would drive them away from the hospital. It is not a lot of money, but the symbolic effect of it flies in the face of what we are trying to do. And so I applaud the fact that that has been withdrawn as an initiative this session, and I would hope that the efforts of your committee would seek to educate others about trying to be consistent in support of our initiatives.

The third one is in the sense of community. Volunteer programs clearly are very important throughout the United States in our social fabric, and they are no less important in the Army. We try to foster a sense of community, encourage the commitment of volunteers to broaden our base of resources.

Unit-family-support networks are another important aspect of the sense of community. I went down, as an illustration of this, to Fort Stewart, Ga., the night that our Rangers returned from Grenada. This was midnight. I was stunned, as was my wife, to see the outpouring of thanks from about 1,000 members of that post, families that were there, families other than the Ranger families, obviously, a network of support. Many of the wives had slumber parties in other homes so that they would have an institutional support structure while their husbands were away and they did not know where they were.

So it was family support in being that I saw and my wife saw there, so it does work. And that is part of the kind of networking that we are encouraging.

We also have embarked on a program at our senior service schools. We appoint a young officer to be a battalion commander or a brigade commander. He goes to school, the school system there,

for several weeks to learn about his job, and his wife also goes to learn about the social programs that we are trying to encourage so that she is as much educated on that side as he.

And, incidentally, I go to talk to all of those courses, as does my wife who has been strongly involved in this whole activity for all of my career.

In each of these themes, our commanders and their wives are involved actively. Programs are in motion and they are functioning, and they have my full support and that of the Secretary of the Army.

As you may know, this year we have put in a white paper which spells out the relationship between the Army and the Army family in terms of partnership, wellness, and the sense of community that I have just outlined. We are now actively at work on an Army family action plan that translates this relationship into more than just rhetoric and words. We are making every effort to insure that we place our resources where they will do the most good, even though those resources may be limited.

To close, I will touch on what I mentioned at the beginning: that the operation in Grenada underscores the need for a well-grounded family-support program to make our soldiers, who are the best we have ever had in this Nation that I have seen, to make those soldiers as ready as we possibly can make them.

I am convinced that we are moving in the right direction. I am deeply appreciative of efforts by Members in this Congress and particularly members in this committee here for their deep commitment and support of what we are trying to do.

Thank you so much for the opportunity to come here and share some of the thoughts that we are committed to in the Army.

[Prepared statement of Gen. John A. Wickham and a 1983 white paper entitled "The Army Family" follow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GEN. JOHN A. WICKHAM, JR., CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. ARMY

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before this committee and speak with you about the importance of Army families.

The current operation in Granada provides a specific example of the points I would like to emphasize today. Our soldiers there, by all accounts, conducted a very professional operation. Quality personnel and good equipment combined with demanding training all contributed to their success. A less acclaimed, but equally important part of their success was the role of the Army family. Our soldiers in Grenada were confident the Army was concerned about their families and their families would receive assistance if needed. At the same time the families mobilized to support the military operation and themselves. For instance, family members within the 82d Airborne Division operated Family Support Groups to provide an information and an assistance network which reduced demands on the deploying forces. Further, they assisted by packing health and comfort items for shipment to Grenada. For the first time family members were part of the teams that informed families of casualties and provided a support system for the affected family members.

All this did not just happen. It was the result of ongoing efforts by the chain-of-command and family members, and underlines the importance of commitment in the readiness equation.

Today's Army centers around commitment—commitment by our leadership to fully develop the potential of each and every soldier. In return, the individual soldier must be equally committed to be ready to deploy and fight when needed. In today's Army, where over 50 percent of our force is married, the soldiers knowledge that the Army cares about their families is vital. Soldiers and their families gain through the Army institution a sense of common identity—a partnership and commitment to the overall mission and acceptance of the unrestricted liability contract.

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Total individual commitment through satisfaction of the soldiers needs translates into readiness of the Total Army. We recruit soldiers but we retain families.

The Army has recognized the part the family plays in this relationship for many years. Establishment of the Army Emergency Relief during World War II and the Army Community Services during the Dominican Republic and Vietnam Era are examples of earlier attempts, albeit reactive, to support families during wartime. Recent initiatives have been more proactive and have focused on providing our soldiers' families the same quality of life as those they are committed to defend. Grenada, while involving only a small portion of our Army, shows clearly we are on the right track.

There have been many initiatives aimed at assisting our families. Three themes emerge: partnership, wellness, and sense of community. I would like to briefly describe initiatives that support each of these themes.

PARTNERSHIP

First of all in the area of partnership is the Mayoral system. Military family members are elected by community residents to represent the neighborhood in community matters.

Secondly is family membership participation in design of family quarters. Family members are invited to sit on selection boards to review design and construction projects for family quarters.

Finally, in recognition of the special problems posed by constant relocation we are undertaking a number of employment initiatives. These include a test program to provide a systematic means of referral and placement for family members employed by the Army who are required to move with their sponsor within the United States.

WELLNESS

One of our initiatives in support of wellness is the Family Advocacy Program. This program addresses the problems of spouse and child abuse by detection, prevention, and education.

Another is the Drug and Alcohol Abuse Program. Our existing program has been expanded to specifically address the problems of youth by encouraging community involvement.

A third one is the Exceptional Family Member Program. This is an identification and treatment program for handicapped military family members.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Our third major theme is a sense of community. Our volunteer programs are a vital element of this theme. Soldiers and family members support community programs by volunteer service. Red Cross, Army Community Service, and Youth Athletic Programs are examples.

Also included here are unit family support networks. We are exploring ways to encourage active family involvement in developing structures to support one another when units deploy.

Lastly, training for Army families is critical. Right now, at some of our Senior Service Schools, training is conducted for spouses of military members. This training emphasizes community organization, problem solving, and volunteerism.

In each of these themes the chain-of-command is actively involved. The programs are in motion and functioning—but as you realize, there remains much to be done.

Therefore we must ensure our focus is clear in addressing the challenges of the 1980's and to assist us as we forge our way to an Army of Excellence in the 1990's. We also must continue the momentum to do more to demonstrate the Army's commitment to its soldiers and family members. This commitment announced in the White Paper issued in August of this year, provides a philosophy which spells out the relationship between the Army and the Army family. It provides the framework to direct our current and future efforts.

We are currently working on an Army Family Action Plan which translates this philosophy into action. It recognizes resources are limited and balances family programs with other readiness priorities. We are making every effort to ensure that we place our resources where they will make the greatest impact. Therefore, family requirements have been divided into two groups; those we can resolve with innovative low cost solutions and those which carry a high price tag. Be assured we are moving out on those programs within our existing resource capability. We look for your support for those programs beyond our current means.

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I am proud of what we have accomplished to date. The operation in Grenada has again underscored the need for concrete programs that hit the mark. Well-founded programs must be in place when, and if, critical events or emergencies occur. As I analyze the Army's challenges for the years ahead, I am convinced we are moving in the right direction. I urge your continued interest and support in our efforts.

Chief of Staff, US Army

White Paper 1983

The Army Family

UNITED STATES ARMY
THE CHIEF OF STAFF

15 August 1983

TO: The Soldiers, Civilians, and Family Members of the US Army

The Constitution of the United States calls for raising and maintaining an Army for the purpose of national defense. As a consequence the Army's first priority must be to execute the missions entrusted to it by political authority. While this priority is clear, the Army can and must assure within available resources and commitments adequate care for families of its members.

Although we now have the smallest Army in 30 years, improvements are underway to strengthen the Army's capabilities for deterring war and for winning war should deterrence fail. During this decade several hundred new systems of equipment will be distributed to the Active Army and Reserve Components. Through tough, realistic training such as that at the National Training Center, readiness of the Army has increased. Manning initiatives including the Regimental System, coupled with the high quality of recruits and reenlistees, continue to strengthen the human dimension of the Army.

The Army Goals have become the management tools for the planning and programing necessary to move our Army to the future in the most effective way balancing constrained resources and force improvement requirements.

Since the Army's strength lies in its people, the Human Goal undergirds the other Army Goals and realization of their full potential. A crucial component of the Human Goal is our objective of fostering wholesome lives for our families and communities. Policy reviews of this goal led to the need for formally articulating a basic Army philosophy for families. The purpose would be to direct in a comprehensive way our current and future efforts to foster Army Families of Excellence within available resources and in concert with other Army Goals.

The purpose of this paper is to assure that all of us--family members, sponsors, the chain of command, and planners/programers--understand the direction we are headed in development of an Army Family Action Plan.

Our stated philosophy is—

> A partnership exists between the Army and Army Families. The Army's unique missions, concept of service and lifestyle of its members--all affect the nature of this partnership. Towards the goal of building a strong partnership, the Army remains committed to assuring adequate support to families in order to promote wellness; to develop a sense of community; and to strengthen the mutually reinforcing bonds between the Army and its families.

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The basis of this statement is the understanding that the Army is an institution, not an occupation. Members take an oath of service to the Nation and Army, rather than simply accept a job. As an institution, the Army has moral and ethical obligations to those who serve and their families; they, correspondingly, have responsibilities to the Army. This relationship creates a partnership based on the constants of human behavior and our American traditions that blend the responsibility of each individual for his/her own welfare and the obligations of the society to its members.

Our unique mission and lifestyle affect this partnership in ways rarely found in our society. Since we are in the readiness business, we are concerned not only with the number of people in the force but also with their degree of commitment--their willingness to not only train, but also to deploy and, if necessary, to fight--their acceptance of the unlimited liability contract. The need for reciprocity of this commitment is the basis of the partnership between the Army and the Army Family.

As a result, adequacy of support must be based on this unique partnership. The Army will never have all the resources it needs. Therefore, we must balance our dollars spent for family programs with those spent to discharge our moral responsibilities to give our soldiers the equipment, training, and leadership they need to have the best chance for survival (from a family perspective) and victory (from a societal perspective) on the battlefield. This is why we have targeted "Wellness" and "Sense of Community" as the major thrusts of our efforts.

In promoting family wellness, we must also find ways to transfer the skills, experiences, attitudes, and ethical strengths of the many healthy Army families. Despite the pressures the vast majority of families manage and grow through their involvement with Army life. We know that most Army families find military lifestyle exciting; enjoy the opportunities for travel and cultural interaction; and most importantly, have positive feelings about the Army and its place in our society. While the needs of families experiencing stress must be considered, we must research and promote the positive aspects of Army families as our primary goal.

The strength of a community lies in the contributions and talents of its members. If the right elements are together in the right environment, the end product is often greater than what would otherwise be expected from the elements functioning independently.

Our concept of the Army-Family community is such a relationship. The family is linked to the unit by the servicemember and those unit programs in which the family wishes to participate. The family and unit are linked also by common community activities. Our goal is to increase the bonding between the family unit and the Army community--create a sense of interdependence.

In fostering interdependence between the family and the Army, we are again looking at the Army as an institution. The Army has a responsibility to its members and the members have a responsibility to the Army and each other. If for the greater good resources must be used now for modernization or other programs, Army families, communities, and the chain of command must through their own efforts insure that the reciprocity of commitment remains. It is not a we/they situation, it is us--US as in U.S. Army.

JOHN A. WICKHAM, JR.
General, United States Army
Chief of Staff

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Need for a Philosophy

The Army's need to articulate a philosophy for its families has become an institutional obligation. It is now generally recognized that families have an important impact on the Army's ability to accomplish its mission. This is true with other societal institutions as well. The family life of members of organizations, once a private matter, is now an organizational concern. Geographic mobility, changing family structures and the recognition that competition between family and organizational needs can be destructive to both parties has led to the realization that family issues are no longer a private matter.

The proliferation of family-oriented programs in the private sector is a recent phenomenon that demands increasing attention by organizational leaders. These programs are tacit acknowledgment that people belong to many interdependent groups and communities. What happens to individuals in one group affects their relationship with and productivity in others. There is a natural tension between groups to which people belong which leads to competition for time, commitment and other resources. The Army is no different from other institutions in its concern for families, but the unique nature of military service lends an urgency to the need to develop a coherent philosophy for the Army family.

Servicemembers and their families should be able to enjoy the benefits of the society they are pledged to defend. Furthermore, the nature of the commitment of the servicemember dictates to the Army a moral obligation to support their families.

The Army has not always acknowledged this obligation. Its current relationship to the family did not develop from a consistent rationale but, rather, from the historical evolution of piecemeal programs.

Evolution of the Partnership: Army and Family

Families have always been associated with the Army. But the Army's willingness to acknowledge the critical role families play in its mission has moved from studied neglect, through ambivalent and selective inclusion of families in the military community, to a sense that the development of a family philosophy is an institutional imperative.

In the earliest years of its existence, the tiny Army of the new republic avoided any reference to family issues in its formal regulations. Wives and children followed their husbands as the Army began its trek across the continent. The only regulation which could be interpreted as recognition of their presence concerned the status of "camp followers" and gave regimental or post commanders complete and arbitrary authority over all civilians. Attitudes toward officers' families were the result of the unwritten professional code of the 18th century European officer corps: officers took care of their own. This same outlook assumed that enlisted men never married, but recognized that many senior noncommissioned officers did. In this recognition lies the root of the Army's acknowledgment of an implied obligation to

provide the basics of life, e.g., shelter, food, and medical care. Gradually the conditions of life on the pre-Civil War frontier led to a recognition that the obligation extended to officers' families as well. But its expression remained informal (Figure 1).

EVOLUTION OF THE ARMY'S COMMITMENT TO THE ARMY FAMILY

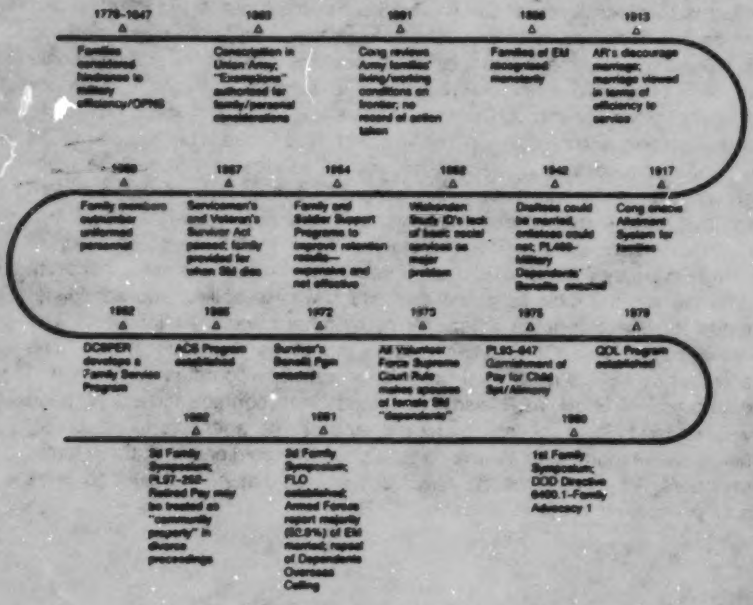
1776-1947
Families considered hindrance to military efficiency/OPNS
1869
Conscription in Union Army; "Exemptions" authorized for family/personal considerations
1891
Cong reviews Army families' living/working conditions on frontier; no record of action taken
1898
Families of EM recognized mandatory
1913
AR's discourage marriage; marriage viewed in terms of efficiency to service
1939
Family members authorized uniformed personnel
1957
Servicemen's and Veteran's Survivor Act passed; family provided for when SM dies
1964
Family and Soldier Support Programs to improve retention results--expensive and not effective
1968
Widmondon Study ID's lack of basic social services as major problem
1942
Draftees could be married, enlistees could not; PL490--Military Dependents' Benefits enacted
1917
Cong enacts Allotment System for families
1982
DCSPER develops a Family Service Program
1985
ACS Program established
1972
Survivor's Benefit Plan created
1975
All Volunteer Force Supreme Court Rule makes spouses of female SM "dependents"
1975
PL93-647 Garnishment of Pay for Child Spt/Alimony
1979
QOL Program established
1982
3d Family Symposium; PL97-252--Retired Pay may be treated as "community property" in divorce proceedings
1981
2d Family Symposium; FLO established; Armed Forces report majority (62.5%) of EM married; repeal of Dependents Overseas Ceiling
1980
1st Family Symposium; DOD Directive 6400.1-Family Advocacy 1

FIGURE 1

By the late 1800's, several trends were evident. The obligation to provide for basic family needs received formal recognition in Army regulations. At the same time, the Army displayed a tendency to specify services and benefits and restrict eligibility to the families of officers and senior noncommissioned officers. The early 20th century Army considered families of enlisted men below noncommissioned rank an unwanted burden. In fact, Army regulations, with exceptions, forbade the peacetime enlistment or reenlistment of men with wives and minor children until 1942. Housing, medical care in Army facilities, rations-in-kind, and other associated benefits were not formally available to enlisted families, although the Army continued to recognize an implied responsibility to them and frequently over-extended its limited resources to meet that requirement.

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Until World War I, the Army was small enough that most benefits were in-kind. Following World War I, accelerating during the build-up for World War II, and continuing to the present, the practice of authorizing monetary entitlements in lieu of goods and services in-kind began to expand. For example, today approximately 42 percent of soldiers live in the civilian community and receive Basic Allowance for Quarters.

In 1940 the creation of a new civilian Army began as a result of the enactment of the Selective Training and Service Act. The tremendous Army expansion which followed the United States' entry into World War II found no agency prepared to assist young soldiers and their families experiencing problems of adjustment, financial straits, wartime separation, and emotional burdens. Heretofore, the Army dealt with families requiring emergency support informally through post funds, cooperation with local charitable organizations, and referrals to the American Red Cross. The American Red Cross expanded their operations but resources were not enough to meet growing needs for assistance. This generated the need for Army members to have an agency of their own to which they could turn without resort to public charity or welfare. The Secretary of War directed the organization of Army Emergency Relief (AER) on 5 February 1942 as a private, nonprofit organization, the express purpose of which was to collect and administer funds to relieve distress among Army members and their families. "The Army Takes Care Of Its Own" was adopted as the AER slogan. The activities of AER and the Red Cross were carefully coordinated to prevent duplication of effort. AER also maintained close contact and cooperation with Federal, State, county, municipal, and private agencies to effectively utilize all resources to relieve distress among soldiers and their family members. After World War II, it was determined that AER should continue as a private, nonprofit organization.

The manner in which AER came into existence typified the Army's *ad hoc* approach to dealing with families. Services and benefits came into existence piecemeal and evolved individually (Figure 2). Thus, housing and rations-in-kind fell under the prerogative of the old Quartermaster Corps; health benefits were administered by The Surgeon General; and management of Army Emergency Relief programs developed into another bureaucracy. This trend continued in the post-World War II and Korean War period.

ARMY COMMUNITY SERVICES

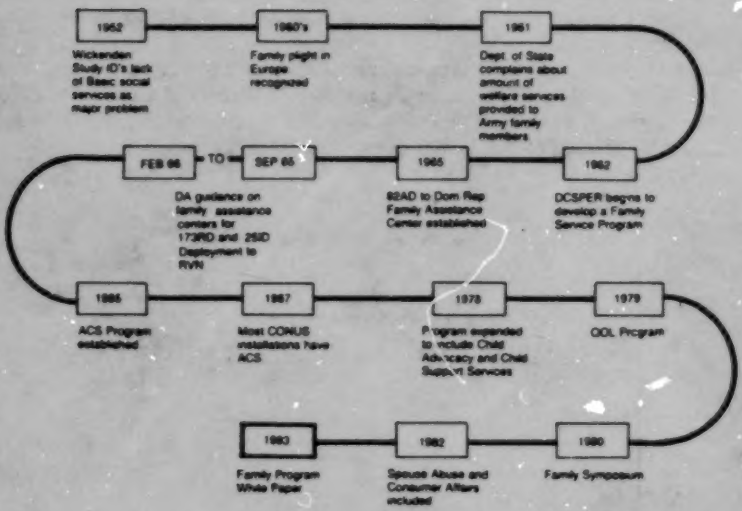

FIGURE 2

The maintenance of a large standing peacetime Army in the Cold War made it impossible to revert to the pre-World War II practice of discouraging enlistment of married personnel. By 1960, family members outnumbered uniformed personnel in the active force. The existence of this large population led to the first attempt to establish an umbrella organization for family services—The Army Community Service (ACS) Program. The creation of the Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services (CHAMPUS) in 1966 to ensure "adequate" medical care for military families stationed at locations away from military treatment facilities was a big step toward direct, planned, formalized action for family support.

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The advent of the All Volunteer Force caused the Army's leaders to address military personnel policies from a new perspective, especially with respect to the enlisted ranks. With the growth of young enlisted families, leaders began to recognized that the Army recruits individuals but retains families.

Today's active Army consists of approximately 780,000 soldiers: 13 percent officers and 87 percent enlisted. The enlisted corps is young—94 percent are between the ages of 21 and 25; only 6 percent of the officers are that young. The majority of career soldiers are married. The total number of family members (1,082,000) increases the total population of the active Army force by one and a half times. About half this number (630,000) are children; one-third (384,000) are spouses; and the other 68,000 are dependent parents, etc. No aggregate numbers reflect the diversity of Army families—there is no stereotypical Army family; different families have different needs. But all Army families have needs civilian families don't have.

Another look at Army family statistics reveals that more than 80 percent of the active duty officers' corps is married; 78 percent of the enlisted career force and 28 percent of first term enlistees are married (Figure 3). In sum, over 50 percent of the Army's active duty force is married.

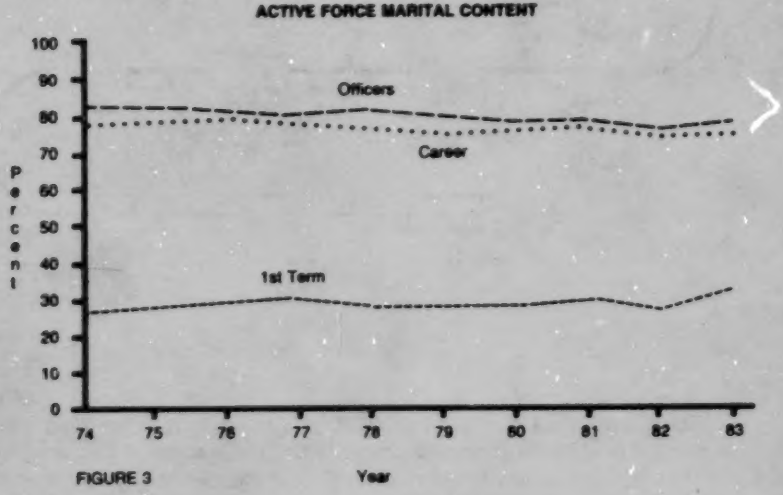

FIGURE 3

The size of Army families varies according to rank and time in service (Figure 4).

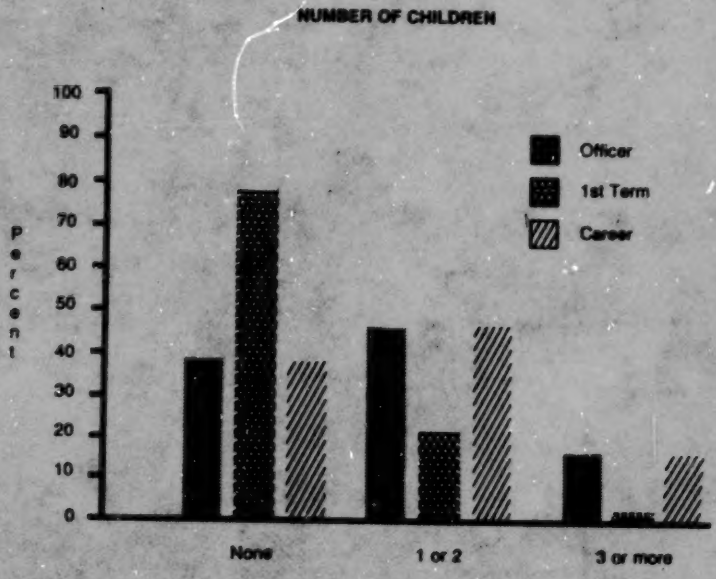

FIGURE 4

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Another significant demograhic development for Army families is the percentage of soldiers married to other soldiers. Note the relatively high percentage of "first termers" who are married to other soldiers (Figure 5).

PERCENTAGE OF SOLDIERS MARRIED TO OTHER SOLDIERS

	Officers	
Spouse in Military?	*Company Grade*	*Field Grade*
No	86.9%	97.6%
Yes—Active	8.5%	1.9%
Yes—Reserve	1.5%	0.4%
Yes—National Guard	0.1%	0.1%

	Enlisted	
Spouse in Military?	*First Term*	*Career*
No	80.1%	89.6%
Yes—Active	17.9%	9.1%
Yes—Reserve	1.4%	0.9%
Yes—National Guard	0.7%	0.3%

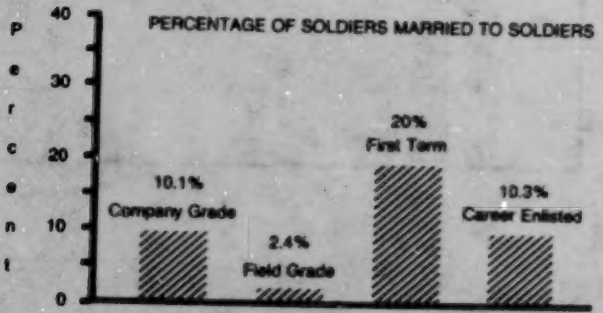

FIGURE 5 Source: August 1982 sample survey of military personnel

The Family Life Cycle (Figure 6) provides another view of the Army Family. Family needs and developmental stages change as a family goes through each stage. These stages raise different issues for providing family services and for developing personnel policy. For example, our enlisted force will probably be more concerned with day-care centers, while our our officers will be more concerned with youth activities.

A FAMILY LIFE CYCLE MODEL

Pre-family or Single	Couple w/o Children	Couple w/Small Children	Couple w/Teens	Couple Children Gone	Couple Retirement
38.3%	16.6%	37.5%	9.3%	0.2%	—
17 24	18 30	20 35	36 50	51 59	60

FIGURE 6

Another revealing demographic statistic regarding the Army family is that more than 21 percent of Army spouses speak English only as a second language. The corresponding difficulty these spouses encounter in comunicating needs and securing family support services exemplifies other issues Army leaders must address in providing for the Army family.

The total Army Family includes more than the active force. The Reserve Components add another dimension. National Guard members total over 418,000; Army Reservists, 476,000. Family members of Reserve Component (RC) soldiers experience problems unique to the RC environment and require special consideration by Army planners. Another important part of the Total Army is the Department of the Army's civilians. There are over 322,000 U.S. citizen civilians serving the Army worldwide. Of these, 36,000 Army civilian employees and their 12,000 family members serve with and are part of overseas Army communities. Finally, retired servicemembers (499,000) and their families (683,000) must be included.

The Family of the Future

In the late 1950's, the vast majority of Americans expected to be married. Wives expected to play a supportive role to their husbands' careers, and to center their lives around a traditional concept of family, homemaking, and childrearing. These attitudes persisted into the 1960's, when 80 percent of all Americans believed that being unmarried was an unnatural state for a man or a woman. These attitudes have undergone radical revision.

The "traditional family" has been joined in increasing numbers by other modes of family life: single parent families, couples without children, marriages of convenience, and couples "living together." The single lifestyle is increasingly seen as normal and viable. The divorce rate has skyrocketed in the last 20 years. It is predicted that by 1990 up to 50 percent of all children will have experienced divorce and remarriage in their families.

Another significant change has been delayed or foregone childbearing. Birthrates in the United States have declined significantly over the past 18 years, with 22 percent fewer children being born now than were born in 1959. The "baby bust" which followed the post-World War II "baby boom" has reduced the number of children enrolled in elementary school by approximately 10 percent in the same time period; this reduction is expected to reach 17 to 18 percent by the mid-1980's. In addition, we are seeing increases in life expectancy at birth from 70.8 in 1983 to 74.4 in 2033 for men; from 78.2 in 1983 to 82.7 in 2033 for women. The drop in population growth, coupled with increasing life expectancy, is expected to raise the median age from 30.9 years in 1983 to 41.1 years in 2033.

Nontraditional families and delayed or foregone childbearing have been accompanied by changing expectations for spousal roles. Husbands are questioning the costs of traditional fathering, for example, extended separations from their families, long working hours, limited contact with wives and children, and, in the case of divorce, unquestioned assignment of child custody to the mother. Wives' roles have undergone an even more dramatic

change. Most noticeable is the greater tendency of wives to work outside the home and to view their jobs as genuine careers rather than supplementary family income.

These changing roles and expectations, along with growing economic needs and aspirations, have affected the Army family. As the following chart (Figure 7) shows, more than half of career soldiers' spouses work outside the home. As with families in the civilian population, the number of Army spouses working outside the home is increasing. More importantly, the financial contribution of working spouses is greater in military families than in civilian families. As the second chart (Figure 8) shows, the military spouse's job contributes 33 percent of family income, while the civilian spouse contributes only 19 percent.

PERCENTAGE OF SPOUSES CURRENTLY WORKING

	Officer	Enlisted
Not Working	57%	53%
Working Full Time	30%	33%
Working Part Time	12%	12%
Working Both	1%	2%

FIGURE 7

• AND MORE WIVES ARE WORKING/CONTRIBUTING

Working wives

	1970	1980	Contr
Military	30%	52%	33%
Civilian	41%	51%	19%

Moving contributes to family hardships

FIGURE 8

Employment of the spouse in a military marriage is often on a temporary or part-time basis and at lower pay, due to frequent and unpredictable military moves. However, career development (combining long- and short-term goals, training, education, and meaningful volunteer or salaried jobs) has become a frequent demand among Army spouses and military members. Increasingly, career development of spouses has forced military families to choose between one career or the other.

The rise in the number of military spouses who work outside the home directly affects the spouses' ability to become involved in social and volunteer activities. Army leaders must be alert to the stress placed on the military family with a working spouse and consider this when planning social and volunteer programs. Efforts are ongoing to educate and involve military

spouses in Army family support programs. TRADOC schools now offer orientation classes for those spouses of military members attending career development courses on a permanent change of station. Such initiatives must recognize the "volunteer" aspect of spouse involvement in community activities and capitalize on the individuality and interests of each family member.

Another significant change in families is their social and technical sophistication. Today's young families are a product of the computer and media age; they learn as well, if not better, from media (television, radio, and films) than from the traditional learning devices of prior generations (books and newspapers). Their children, who will be 17 to 20 by the year 2000, will be the "microkids" who will understand computers and software as their parents understood today's media. Today's families are also a product of the social movements of the 1960's and 1970's: the civil rights movement, the women's movement, and consumer activism. They have internalized the questioning, activist nature of these movements and have become adept at identifying their problems and advocating for their common needs.

What do these trends mean for today's Army and the Army of the future?

- An increase in the percentage of soldiers who are married and who have families, particularly in lower ranks and among younger soldiers.

- An increase in stress caused by the perplexities of divorce, particularly among career military families. These problems include the needs of youth being raised in single parent homes, custody disputes and child-kidnapping, assurance of child support payments, settlement of military retirement funds, and the problems of displaced homemakers.

- An increase in nontraditional families, particularly single parents (including fathers raising children without the assistance of a wife).

- Presently there is a greater demand for quality childcare, education for youth, and youth activities. The tendency of today's families to delay childbearing and have fewer children will change the needs of Army families.

- An increase in the numbers of elderly dependents for Army families.

- An increased desire of the Army family to "own their own home" and the associated command complexities generated by larger numbers of families "living off-post."

- Demands for "equal rights" for fathers—time off for childrearing—and more stability in an otherwise unstable career.

- Demands for career development assistance for Army spouses, and accommodation of families in which the jobs of both husband and wife are considered equally important.

- Political sophistication of Army families that organize at the grassroots level to form self-help and advocacy groups. We are already experiencing this phenomenon. Beginning in the late 70's throughout USAREUR, spouses began to meet informally with commanders to air problems and

seek solutions. A Women's Symposium was held in Munich, Germany, in August of 1979 to give women representatives from VII Corps communities the opportunity to identify and prioritize issues and concerns. In 1980, the Officer Wives, Club of the Greater Washington Area sponsored the First Army-Wide Family Symposium with the assistance of The Association of the United States Army. In 1981 and 1982, the Family Action Committee (FAC), a group composed of Army spouses in the Washington, D.C., area, held worldwide Army Family Symposia. All those efforts have spread through command channels and through informal grapevines. Family advisory/action groups have cropped up at several installations and are working with the Army to identify, prioritize, and resolve specific family problems.

What Families Say They Need

As a result of the Army Family Symposia of 1980, 1981, and 1982, dialogues have begun between the Army and its families, and among families. Families say they need:

- Employment assistance—a referral service which responds to the special needs of the Army family.
- An educational model—establishment of minimum standards of acceptable education for children.
- Health care—better medical and dental care.
- Volunteer recognition—documentation of professional development acquired as a volunteer.
- Expanded transportation—inclusion of off-post families.
- Improved youth activities—stronger emphasis on youth orientation programs.
- Improved sponsorship program, to include outsponsoring.
- Improved quarters termination procedures—revision of cleaning/clearing policies and a more standardized system.
- Improved support of child care facilities and extended hours of operation.
- Recognition of and sensitivity to individuality of family members (particularly spouse's role).
- Centralization of activities which support family programs.

Demographic data, analysis of future trends, and the opening of dialogues with families have highlighted the need to reevaluate existing programs and policies in terms of a cogent, consistent philosophy. Our data bases can assist us in a target analysis for family programs to better deliver the help needed and properly utilize resources. For example, can we any longer

afford to locate all of our family services on installations when the vast majority of users live in trailer parks isolated from the main post, camp, or station? Furthermore, our delivery systems need consistency and stability to assist the family in adapting from one installation to another.

Building an Army Family Philosophy

The basis for developing any statement of philosophy for the Army Family is the fact that the Army is an institution, not just a job. This is the philosophical underpinning that will shape our statement of philosophy in a much different context than if it were based on market place forces.

Because the Army is an institution, it has moral and ethical responsibilities to those who serve, and those who serve have reciprocal responsibilities. Some are stated in policies and regulations and others are implied or, like retirement pay, are an informal contract. This relationship creates a partnership unique to our institution but still based on an understanding of the behavior of human beings, groups of human beings called families, and communities. For our culture, this behavior has its basis in some well accepted constants:

- Desire to upgrade (or retain) standard of living (better life) for family—especially children.
- Desire to reduce disruptions/mistrust—unpredictable hours, reassignments, separations, inadequate remuneration.
- Need to be needed—feeling of self worth:
  Family—by servicemember.
  Servicemember—by family.
  Family and servicemember—by Army, community, nation.
- Confidence that basic needs will be recognized and fulfilled.
- Existence of opportunity to grow.
- Need to belong—sense of community.
- Institutional support of quality family time (quantity time—impossible).
- Expectation of fair and equitable treatment.
- Desire to accumulate "wealth"—home, savings, property, belongings.
- Competing demands—family versus professional choices.
- Conflicting requirements—family versus job tasks.

The impact at the societal level is our American tradition of blending the responsibility of each individual for his/her welfare and the obligations of the community to its members.

Our unique mission and resulting lifestyle affects this partnership in ways that are far different than other elements of our society, even those who have a similar service or life threatening mission such as policemen and firemen.

The Army recognizes a moral obligation to its soldiers and their families. Because of this, soldiers and their families must be able to enjoy the benefits of the society which they are pledged to defend. Requirements of the unlimited liability contract of the servicemember mandate corresponding obligations of support for Army families. It is understood that a strong, positive relationship exists between soldier commitment and force readiness. This relationship makes support of Army families an organizational imperative.

We are concerned not only with the number of people in the force, but with their degree of commitment—their willingness to not only train, but to deploy and, if necessary, to fight—and their acceptance of the unlimited liability contract. Such commitment is best engendered if soldiers view the Army as a total institution with a high purpose—a fraternal organization where the welfare of its members has a high value.

Soldiers and their families gain through the Army institution a sense of common identity—a shared purpose and commitment to the overall mission. They come to view the Army as providing for their total basic needs in exchange for total commitment—their acceptance of the unrestricted liability contract. Total individual commitment through satisfaction of the family needs translates into readiness of the Total Army.

It is this reciprocity of commitment that makes the family programs so important and justifies resource competition with other competing programs. The unanswered question is, "How much is enough?"

The Army will never have all the resources it feels it needs. Therefore, we must balance those used for family programs with those spent to discharge our moral responsibility to give our soldiers the equipment, training, and leadership they need to have the best chance for survival (from a family perspective) and victory (from a societal perspective) on the battlefield. Unless we achieve an optimum balance, all of us become losers. Thus, we must determine what is adequate based on how we can get the most return on our investment.

An analysis of what Army Families say they need and the demographics of the Army Family of the 1990's suggests two major thrusts for our programs: a focus on *Wellness* as a proactive way to reduce costs and grow families of excellence, and a nurturing of a *Sense of Community* to promote the reciprocity of commitment.

It is the job of the Army's senior leadership to create those policies and programs which support the Army family without being dictatorial. This is a challenging task, requiring the building of linkages between the family and the unit without destroying the integrity of either. We must recognize the innate tension existing between these two entities, and the conflicting demands they place on individual soldiers.

At an organizational level, we must balance the three components of organizational excellence stressed by the Secretary of the Army and the Chief of Staff of the Army: productivity, stability and adaptability.

Productivity. For the Army, productivity equates to readiness. Our policies must recognize that soldiers cannot perform efficiently while distracted by

overwhelming family concerns. Data support this assertion: studies of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war indicate that family stability promotes greater individual effectiveness. According to a recent examination of factors affecting retention, when a tug-of-war occurs between a military family and a military organization, the family usually wins. Of greater importance, we do not want to generate or add to any such personal conflicts. In short, we do not detract from organizational productivity by supporting Army families; rather, taking care of our families enhances both retention and readiness.

Stability versus Adaptibility. In striving for excellence, the Army's family policies must accommodate the seemingly conflicting factors of stability and adaptability. We develop standardized systems at the Headquarters, Department of the Army, that essentially stabilize family life throughout the Army. Examples are our efforts to extend command tours, standardize installation organization and delivery systems, and improve one station inprocessing and outprocessing. Additionally, efforts to build cohesive units and to move toward unit rather than individual replacement will enhance assignment predictability. However, our stabilizing efforts must not stagnate the Army of the future: we must incorporate adaptation in our Army-wide systems. We must plan for change through more sophisticated use of research and data on changing family demographics and through continued communication with Army family members.

Finally, we must recognize that the sheer diversity of Army families means that not all family needs will be responsive to Army-wide standardized systems. We have and must continue to promote individualized, community-unique projects and programs initiated at command and, especially, installation level. These are our best evidence of organizational adaptability.

Wellness. Wellness is a key component of our thrust to reduce costs and grow families of excellence. In this context, wellness is a state of mind brought about by plans, programs, and policies that satisfy essential family needs or, more accurately, that reduce or eliminate stressful forces.

There are numerous stressful events common to military and civilian families. The list below is not all-inclusive.

Death of a spouse
Marital separation
Death of a close family member
Personal injury or illness
Marriage
Loss of job
Retirement
Gain of a new family member
Change in financial status
Change to a different kind of work
Purchase of a home with a big mortgage
Change in work responsibilities
Trouble with business superior
Change in work hours or conditions
Change in residence
Change in schools

Because of the unique lifestyle of the military, these events tend to be frequent and dramatic.

Family problems caused by stress, and those conditions which produce stress, are cumulative—they become more severe over time—and are costly to correct. In the past, we have generally attacked the problems only after they have become severe and the impact obvious. For both humanitarian and readiness reasons, we need to shift the emphasis from a focus only on families already experiencing problems to programs designed to help families cope with stress by building better stability and adaptability.

In promoting family wellness, we must also find ways to transfer the skills, experiences and attitudes of the many healthy Army families. Despite the pressures, the vast majority of families manage and grow through their involvement with Army life. We know that most Army families find military lifestyle exciting; enjoy the opportunities for travel and social interaction; and, most importantly, have positive feelings about the Army and its place in our society. While the needs of families experiencing stress must be considered, we must research and promote the positive aspects of Army Families as our primary goal.

Sense of Community. A partnership has to exist between the Army as an institution and the individuals who are a part of it: the soldiers, civilians, and family members.

This partnership must center on a genuine sense of "the Army Community" with all members offered the challenge and opportunity to work together for the common good. We must take care not to misinterpret the age-old slogan, "The Army takes care of its own." This in not a promise for the institution to provide all of the individual and group support requirements—to make the members of the community dependent upon the institution and the federally funded support structure. Rather the slogan is a challenge for all of us in "the Army Community" to work together, as equal partners, applying our talents, skills, creativity and time to *taking care of our own* and improving the community as a whole. Each of us has a special responsibility as a member of this worldwide community to work to make it a better place. This is not at all dissimilar from our responsibility toward the civilian communities in which we often live: you get out of the community what you put into it; if you want it to be better or more responsive you have to be willing to make a personal investment and commitment to it.

In the past several years, many Army community issues have been surfaced through both internal and external forums. In addition, these forums have surfaced a wealth of goods, new ideas to improve the Army community. What we must do now is establish a framework within which we can apply these good ideas and the talents of all of our community members to the problems/issues known today and those that will continue to surface in the future.

In building this framework, we have to work with management tiers. We have to create a flexible structure remembering while some broad issues must have uniform treatment across the Army, each installation has its own unique community character, issues and solutions. Our management frame-

work has to allow for installation-specific programs and recognize that the unique community character is the key to local issues and local solutions.

We also need to recognize, up front, that the community character is not static—it changes continually as the community membership changes. Therefore, we should not try to put a static, formal program in place but try instead to establish a leadership philosophy and community environment that will encourage everyone to identify both the issues to be addressed and creative solutions to them. Simultaneously, the Army must insure that constant, Army-wide programs (housing, schooling, medical care) are both properly resourced and well delivered to all members of the community.

The Army community of the future must be centered on the concept of interdependence between the Army and the family, with a responsibility on the part of the Army to its members and their families, and a reciprocal responsibility of servicemembers and their families to the Army. This interdependence is the capstone that ties together the elements of partnership, adequacy of support, wellness, and development of a sense of community. It underscores the fact that it is our Army and if in the competition for resources higher priorities dictate fewer resources for family programs, then family members, communities, and the chain of command must through their own efforts insure a reciprocity of commitment. It highlights the role of volunteers working with the chain of command to develop local initiatives to promote wellness and a sense of community. If the Army is to survive as an institution a true partnership must exist. It cannot become a we/they situation; it must be us/US, as in U.S. Army.

The following lays an excellent foundation for a statement of the Army Family Philosophy:

> A partnership exists between the Army and Army Families. The Army's unique missions, concept of service and lifestyle of its members—all affect the nature of this partnership. Towards the goal of building a strong partnership, the Army remains committed to assuring adequate support to families to promote wellness; develop a sense of community; and strengthen the mutually reinforcing bonds between the Army and its families.

This Army Family Philosophy gives clarity, direction, and cohesion to family programs and provides guidance to agencies responsible for developing and implementing those programs. In a larger sense the formal articulation of an Army Family Philosophy represents a break with the past. It recognizes that *ad hoc* programs established on a piecemeal basis that treat the symptoms but not the causes of family stress are no longer sufficient. It makes specific that which has been implied. It forms the basis for a review of existing programs and sets the stage for the development of an Army Family Action Plan that will provide the roadmap to move us to the 1990's.

Developing an Army Family Action Plan

Family Advocates. Several agencies already exist and have responsibility for family policy and programs. Advice to policy makers is provided by the Family Liaison Office located within the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel (DCSPER). The Family Liaison Office also facilitates coordination between Army staff elements. The Director of the Human Resources Directorate is the DCSPER proponent for the Army Family Program. The Adjutant General is responsible for implementing most existing Army family support programs. The Surgeon General plans health services support for families and has a major advisory role for Army fitness. The Chief of Chaplains' Office provides programs in support of religious and moral development as well as pastoral family member counseling. The Judge Advocate General's Office oversees legal service programs which affect family members.

Enhancing Quality of Life for Families. The Army's Quality of Life (QOL) Program directly affects the Army's ability to man the force and improve near-term readiness. The QOL Program addresses the Army's obligation to provide adequate housing, health care, education, pay, facilities maintenance, safe and healthful working conditions, and essential community morale, welfare, and recreation activities.

We are making steady progress in increasing funding for many of the QOL Programs which directly affect living and working conditions for soldiers and family members. Funding for our Army Community Services (ACS) Programs has increased substantially as a result of the growth in new and improved facilities and services for family members. The Army has programed 14 new child care centers for construction during fiscal years 1984 and 1985. We are implementing several new programs such as the Exceptional Family Member Program, Consumer Affairs and Family Advocacy to assist Army families. In short, we recognize that family support programs must be based on families' needs.

We are making gains in increasing the amount of Family Housing for families stationed overseas. Post Exchanges and commissaries are also programed for increases in facilities construction. We are conducting a vigorous campaign to build more libraries, chapels, skill development centers, youth activities centers and bowling alleys with appropriated and nonappropriated funds.

Your Army leadership is working with the Department of Defense to ensure that no Army family pays tuition for public schooling for children who attend school off-post. We are committed to provide quality health care to soldiers and family members. The number of Army physicians has grown 23 percent from 1978 to 1982. This results in the availability of more physicians to treat soldiers and family members. The Army Medical Department is working on several innovative approaches for health care delivery. One such program is "Family Practice" in which a military physician becomes the family doctor for specified families. This program has been enthusiastically received by family members and plans exist to continue to develop more innovative programs for health care delivery.

Pay and Allowances. Pay is an important factor affecting a soldier's decision to enlist or reenlist. In recent years, we made progress in restoring comparability of our soldiers' and, therefore, their families' purchasing power.

We are advocating increased funds for Permanent Change of Station (PCS) entitlements to diminish the impact of out-of-pocket costs of families' moves. These include a proposal to reimburse servicemembers for fees associated with the sale and purchase of homes and to extend existing tax relief upon sale of a principal residence when a member is stationed overseas or occupies Government-provided quarters. The Army supports proposed legislation to fund student travel for families stationed overseas. Likewise, we advocate the passage of legislation to cover storage costs for automobiles of families assigned to countries which prohibit the importation of servicemembers' privately owned vehicles. In 1981, Congress authorized a Temporary Lodging Expense (TLE) for CONUS moves but has not funded the program. TLE will cover a maximum of 4 days of lodging costs (up to $110 a day) for a member and family in conjunction with a move from anywhere to a US duty station, and 2 days for a CONUS to overseas move. The Army continues to advocate funding of this important legislation.

Other Initiatives. In addition to the aforementioned on-going programs, the Army is implementing several initiatives designed to promote partnership, wellness, and a sense of community. Our Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Program (ADAPCP) has been expanded to include education, treatment referral, prevention, and intervention for all family members. The Army's Exceptional Family Member Program will focus on consideration of exceptional family members' needs during the assignment process as well as providing health related services Army-wide. The Child Care Program is undergoing dynamic change as we work to upgrade existing facilities, plan for construction of new physical plants, develop separate career fields for child care professionals and refine job standards and training. We are developing a sponsorship program for those personnel newly assigned to or leaving a command. Our Family Assistance Mobilization Handbook will provide Army Reserve families with information on how and where to obtain family support services in the event of mobilization.

The high cost of raising children has not gone unnoticed. An average American family can expect to spend $226,000 to rear a first-born son to age 22, or $247,000 for a first-born daughter. With each additional child, these costs drop as various items are shared. Your Army leadership favors legislation which would provide for the transfer of educational benefits from servicemembers to their children.

At the local level, there are several innovative and exciting programs working to achieve WELLNESS, PARTNERSHIP, and a SENSE OF COMMUNITY. Fort Hood has developed programs such as "We Care Days," Unit Family Awareness Programs, and responsive engineer repair teams for quarters maintenance. Currently, there are 12 mayoral programs in existence on various CONUS posts. Mayoral programs provide family members with the opportunity to participate in the managerial decision-making process for

those programs, policies, and procedures which directly affect their way of life, on and off post. Fort Belvoir has established a Spouse Education and Employment Resources Center in addition to In-Home Child Care Centers. Fort Bragg's brigade-sponsored on and off post communities program, and its handicapped children's activities demonstrate that post's concerns for partnership and sense of community. To complement military programs, many civilian personnel offices have established special job counseling, educational and referral services targeted at family members. Fort Knox provides welcome and information packets to families, hosts evening employment seminars and airs weekly "How to apply for Federal employment" films on installation cable T.V. These ongoing programs and initiatives underscore the need for an Army Family Plan which will provide Army-wide unity and direction for the Army Family Philosophy in the 1980's.

The Army Family Plan

The Army is fully committed to supporting families, but we must be realistic enough to recognize that we will not have unlimited resources as we develop our plan for the rest of the 1980's. We must avoid the "shotgun" approach by identifying specific needs and prioritizing them to ensure that we spend our money where it will make the greatest difference. To do this, the Army must continue to sponsor forums from which we can receive direct responses from family members, and analyze their perceived problems to identify how they can be met most efficiently. In addition, we must define areas where research and studies are necessary to target effectively resources and programs. There is a pressing need for basic research on the role of Army families and the effect, both positive and negative, of Army life on those families. While we have made progress in this area, reliable data are still rare. We must have more information on stress factors, needs of single soldiers with children, ways to build bridges between heterogeneous family groups, ways to train families for wellness, and myriad other factors. Without this information, we will be groping in the dark and will never approach the maximum possible level of effectiveness.

Once a target list of needs has been developed, we must divide them into two groups: those that can be addressed with few, if any, additional resources; and those which will require major expenditures of new resources. The first group of requirements can be met by replicating throughout the Army low cost/high payoff programs that currently exist at individual installations. At most posts, innovative leaders have developed new methods of employing existing assets to extend the amount of support available to families. A good example is the assignment of a family support mission at Fort Bragg to the Rear Detachment commander of the Sinai Peace Keeping Force. The Rear Detachment commander coordinates support services for the families of the overseas troops, distributes information from the Sinai Force, and responds to any unusual situation that affects family members. This type of effort strengthens the bonds between the families and the unit, provides peace-of-mind for the soldiers in the field, and helps to make the most efficient use of Fort Bragg's community service resources. This program has had a major impact on the quality of life of the families of the Sinai Force with a negligible increase in resource requirements. We have to do a better job of identifying similar low cost, but effective, programs and implementing them throughout the Army.

Of course, not every legitimate family need can be met by changing the way we do business at the installation. There are some problems which will require additional funding, for which we will fight, in spite of tight budgets. In contrast with the low cost initiatives which deal with assistance to individual families, most of our high cost requirements are generated by systemic problems which affect a very large percentage of our soldiers. As noted earlier, Army families have clearly identified those problems which need to be addressed. Improved medical and dental care, more and better on- and off-post housing, a more equitable reimbursement system for expenses incurred on PCS moves, financial assistance for higher education of our

23-099 O—84—4

children, and similar issues have been repeatedly cited by family members as areas where improvement is needed. Most of these problems affect the basic needs of families. Failure to meet these needs can generate severe dissatisfaction with Army life. For example, even a young soldier who is dedicated to the Army may decide not to stay if his or her family must face continued financial hardship.

Responsibility for resolving these issues rests with the Department of the Army. The solutions require obtaining congressional support for major new funding. Although difficult, the potential result in improved retention and readiness is correspondingly great. We must convince the Congress of the necessity of these programs.

Replicating low cost programs and allocating new resources on high payoff projects must be priority efforts, but we must also make sure that we get the most out of what is already available. In the immediate future, there are two areas which require attention:

1. The structure of the Army family support system. Because our family support system developed piecemeal over the long history of our service, there is no standard "Family Support System." The services available, and the system for delivering those services, change from installation to installation. A program which is operated by the Adjutant General at one post may belong to the Chaplain at a second and the DPCA at a third. As a result, duplication of effort and confusion exist among consumers. We need to examine our system, realign functions where required and standardize it so that everyone knows who to see for help.

2. Policy review. While the support structure is being examined, we will also review policy in areas with a direct effect on families. The range of questions to be considered must include such basic issues as quarters clearing procedures; our allocation of resources, such as the percentage of our family housing units allocated to various grades; as well as major shifts in direction for our family support system, such as seeking legislation to allow the Army to employ more volunteers as staff for the Army Community Services program. In all cases, we must strive to streamline the system to provide more effective service, and to eliminate "red tape."

The Army recognizes its responsibility to work with families to promote a partnership which fosters individual excellence among sponsors and family members, as well as maximizing their contribution to maintenance of national security. Simply stated, the Army intends to meet this responsibility by capitalizing on low cost programs to assist families by promoting wellness and by building a sense of community, by seeking additional resources when required to correct major systemic problems, and by reorganizing our management structure to maximize efficiency (Figure 9).

Summary

This white paper describes the evolution of the Army family: its history, present status, and future. It is the first time that information about the Army family has been systematically gathered and consolidated. In that regard, this paper is only the first step of our needs assessment. Future months will be devoted to a continuing analysis in needs and the development of solutions. It will be a time-consuming process; but, given the long history of the Army family and the piecemeal planning to date, our time will be well spent. The Army *will* articulate a well conceived strategic plan for the Army family.

It is important the Department of the Army proceed to implement and institutionalize the programs, plans, and other solutions identified through our needs assessment. However, this plan will not work if it is fed only by Department of the Army initiatives. Each component of the Army, be it unit, installation, or activity, and all members of the Army community—active duty, civilian, reservist, or family member—must understand and embrace the philosophy articulated in this paper. All need to contribute to make it a reality.

This plan envisions family members as true partners in an Army which is seen as a way of life, not a job. The family responsibility in this partnership is to support soldiers and employees and participate in building wholesome communities. The Army's responsibility is to create an environment where families and family members prosper and realize their potential. Each of us has a part to play in this partnership.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very much, General.
Now we will welcome Shauna Whitworth.
Welcome, and we are delighted to have you here.

STATEMENT OF SHAUNA WHITWORTH, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, MILITARY FAMILY RESOURCE CENTER, SPRINGFIELD, VA.

Ms. WHITWORTH. Thank you. I am also very delighted to be here.
I appreciate the opportunity to talk about the military in any context, including paternal absence. In the process of discussing the military family, I do not want to dwell on paternal absence in the beginning. I would like to start with a more global view.

If you look at the number of people involved in the military and their family members in our country, the total is almost 12 million, not counting the civilians who work within the military sector. However, today I would like to focus on the active duty families, those people in uniform who are married and have family members; and then we are talking about 3.7 million individuals.

To me that is a significant group that lives with a specific set of lifestyle factors. One of these factors is paternal absence, but I would like to talk about other factors as well.

The military family probably has eight factors that make them significantly different from the civilian population. I would like to underscore that these are factors. They are not stressors, nor is any function of your job a stressor until you internally interpret it as a stressor. So where something like mobility may be a stress factor to one family, moving frequently is the very thing that keeps another familiy in the military service. So these are factors.

Factors that are involved in military life are, briefly—and I will run over them for you—mobility. Military families move on an average of about 2.2 times in a 5-year span. The officers move more than the enlisted people. And probably someone could say to me, "Yes, but, Shauna, people in the civilian sector move, too. That is true. However, in the civilian sector, in the corporate world, it is not likely that their people who are comparable to our E–1's, E–2's, E–3's—that is our privates and our seamen and our airmen—are being moved across country or to another country. Mobility is a factor that is, therefore, similar in ways to the civilian sector and yet unique to the military.

Another factor is family separation. Military family members are separated from their family of origin, from the city or town they know and understand. They are very often separated from one another. Sometimes that is a function of receiving orders that exclude the family and sometimes separation is a function of the family iftelf. Sometimes the family decides that, in light of what is happening in that family at that time if a child happens to be in line for a scholarship next year, for instance it may not be wise for the entire family to move somewhere else; and as a function of the family they may decide to be geographically separated for a while.

Parent absence is a significant factor. In the context of this particular group I would like to speak of paternal absence since that is more likely the case in the military sector by virtue of the fact that there are more men in uniform than women.

We know for sure that parent absence does affect the entire family. The literature and research contradict themselves over and over again when they get into the fine details of how that happens. It seems that we need to know whether the absence is long term or short term, whether it is in peacetime or wartime, how old the child is, and what his or her position is in the family. We really do not have clear answers to questions about these variables at this point.

We do know that the roles of every family member alter dramatically when a parent is removed from the home; and we know that when that parent comes back, the roles alter dramatically again; and this constant shift can be difficult. In those segments of the military service where these separations are intermittent and frequent, that role change can be extremely difficult, but no more difficult than when separation is isolated or infrequent. In some career spans a parent removed may be gone only once or twice but for a longer period of time.

Even though we have this contradiction in the literature about exactly what happens negatively, separation does affect the child.

Another factor is overseas living. It is a very exciting adventure to have a tour overseas as a military family and an opportunity that many civilian families do not have. Living overseas also has its challenges, particularly involving housing, language, the difference in the cost of living, and a number of things that military families experience but are not prepared for. Despite the services efforts to prepare families, you sometimes don't accept the realities you are alerted to until you experience them yourself.

Another military lifestyle factor is child adjustment. Not all children at all ages and at all placements in the family adjust equally to being military family members. You may have four or five children in a family. Maybe one of two of them do not function well within a military family setting, whereas the others may be doing beautifully. We do not really understand why. I would suggest a need for research in that area.

The military has some high-stress and high-risk jobs, and I think that General Wickham pointed that out very clearly when he said we recently gathered Ranger units together and deployed them to Grenada without notice. Their family members did not know where they were going. That is high stress, and that is high risk. But military families know what their business is about. Unexpected deployments and separations could happen at any time. That is what service members train for constantly. And though military family members do not sit and dwell on this reality, it is always there in their family life.

Often military family needs and military organizational needs do not mesh. Sometimes when the birth of a child is imminent, that may be the very time when the Ranger must be deployed. It is not the design of the family or of the military to have this mismeshing, if you will, but it happens; and it happens in every military family somewhere along the line, sometimes frequently.

Also, the authoritarian management style is necessary in the military setting because their mission is national defense. The military leadership must be able to authoritatively tell service members that they will be leaving tomorrow, and family issues cannot

necessarily be taken into consideration when the main issue is national defense.

Now I would like to very quickly tell you a little bit about what I call the average or typical military family member. The greatest numbers of people in the military are those who are called at the E–4 or an E–5 level. The greatest numbers are no longer at the private or the young seaman or airman level. These people are usually in the rank of sergeant, corporal, specialist 4, specialist 5, petty officer third class or second class.

Let me quickly draw a picture, if you will, of what is known as the typical or average military family. The husband-father is probably from 23 to 25 years old; he has a high school diploma; and he has been in the service for 4 to 6 years. The wife-mother is 21 to 23 and also has a high school diploma. She at one time was referred to as a dependent, although that term is losing popularity. This family has two children. One is probably near kindergarten age, and the other one is a toddler or an infant, and they have been married just over 5 years.

The military pay portion of the E–4's family income is about $1,225 a month. That works out to about $14,700 a year. If you calculated that income at an hourly rate for a 40-hour week, the service member would be earning about $7 an hour.

I do not think there are too many people in the military working a 40-hour week job. The father in this family is probably moonlighting; that is, he is working at night for extra income, and that probably brings in about 25 percent of the total family income. If he is not moonlighting, then his wife is most likely working at least part time for a minimum wage, and her contribution to the total family income is probably about 20 percent.

This family is likely to be $2,000 to $5,000 in debt, and the items that they are in debt for will most likely be things like cars and stereos and furniture and children's items that are needed as a family begins to build. The family probably has one car. It is likely that they live off the military installation. And because this one car is used by the man to go to and from work, there is also a high likelihood that they do not use the commissary or the PX or those items that are part of the benefit package of military life very often.

What I have not mentioned as a part of military life in this day and age is that very often military families are dual career; that is, both husband and wife are uniformed people. Without going into that at any great length, let me add that there are some challenges attached to being a dual-career military family.

The other dual-career military family consists of an active duty husband and a civilian wife who is pursuing a career. This also offers its challenges, particularly concerning mobility and separation. It is very difficult to keep a career afloat if you are moving every 2.2 years inside a 5-year period of time.

Also, foreign-born spouses—as General Wickham told you there are quite a number of them—have their challenges.

We are not sure of their exact numbers and how many of them are European-born and how many are Asian-born. We also do not know how many have adequate language skills and how many do

not. We do know that their challenges are large in adjusting to our culture.

Also, the family with a handicapped member has challenges within the military system. Again, mobility and all of the other factors that we mentioned can often make that quite different from living in the civilian sector.

As in the civilian world, families do not always fall neatly into patterns of being a specific age at a specific rank and moving smoothly along. There are 20,000 people in all branches of the military who are adolescents—that is, 17, 18, or 19 years old—and are married. That is quite a number of people. Each one of them has a spouse who is probably 2.4 years younger than he is; usually the active duty person is male.

We also have similar number of people who are over the age of 25 and under the rank of E-3. If you are in the rank E-1 to 3, many benefits such as financial assistance for a move, housing, et cetera, are not available to you, so those people who are at an unusual age for their career positions also have challenges within the military setting.

We have had military families for over the past 200 years. Only in about the last decade has there been a strong interest in what is going on with military families. And over the past 7 years a series of conferences, seminars, symposia, et cetera, have addressed the needs of military families. These were organized, in the main, by military families themselves. Over that period of time family members have identified their issues and what the challenges are to living in the military setting and have offered those to the military. The military has acted on these issues.

I suspect, and maybe you would agree with me, sir, that the army family white paper possibly would not have come as quickly without the involvement of the family members. All of the services are finding that military families are very, very involved in this effort to see change happen in a positive way. However, the military service cannot change all of the things that family members have pointed out over the past 7 years as needing to be done. Some issues need congressional intervention.

I would like to very quickly point out some of the items that have repeatedly shown up that the military cannot change or fix without the help of the Congress.

One has to do with medical care and CHAMPUS. Interestingly, General Wickham spoke of the $10 user fee—I am not sure what the term is for that—that would be levied on the families for each clinic visit and he said that is very likely to drive families away from proper medical care. I suggest that is very likely to drive them away from the military, period. It is one more infringement upon what they see as the package of benefits attached to military life.

Military families report that medical CHAMPUS is difficult to obtain. Instructions and regulations on CHAMPUS are confusing. There is a great deal of information available on this problem, and I would be glad to share that with you if any of you are interested.

Dental—dental care is virtually nonexistent for military families. Overseas and in the United States at certain locations it is avail-

able on an extremely limited basis in what they call space available.

Housing—military families feel that the housing is inadequate both in quantity and in quality.

Relocation and mobility—the families feel that the costs out of their own pocket for moving are tremendous and that moving disrupts their employment and career opportunities and family development. They would like some ways to reduce the costs and disruptions.

Deployment—deployment, the time that a military family member is gone from the family, is felt to be unnecessarily long in some cases. The support services that General Wickham talked about need to be supported financially and formalized rather than offered informally.

Child care and youth activities—there simply are not enough open slots in child-care centers for military families, nor are there enough youth activities.

In the education department, there is the issue in some States of having to pay out-of-State tuition each time families move. This can be very difficult, not only because of the disruption of the education but because of the cost. And last but not least, families feel that the defense-dependent schools, the DODDS schools, lack standardization and quality assurance.

That, in essence, is what I have to say about military family within this time limit. I certainly have a lot more to say.

Thank you very much.

[Prepared statement of Shauna Whitworth follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SHAUNA WHITWORTH, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, MILITARY FAMILY RESOURCE CENTER, SPRINGFIELD, VA.

TESTIMONY ON MILITARY FAMILIES

The United States military is made up of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force and Coast Guard (the Coast Guard is under the Department of Transportation). This paper refers to the military service all of the above branches.

The services are made up of full-time active duty personnel; reserve personnel who train in preparation for mobilization; and retired personnel, that is , those who have served twenty years or more in the military as active duty or reserve.

Military personnel and members of their families total some 12 million individuals in the military community.

My testimony today focuses primarily on active duty personnel and their families.

Family members total 2.6 million individuals, as compared to a total military force of nearly 2.1 million active duty members. Excluding from this total the number of non-married military members, there are slightly over 3.7 million individuals in active duty military families today.

There are more family members than there are uniformed members of the United States armed forces, including both single and the married uniformed personnel.
(see pie chart on page 16)

Military and their Family Members

Uniformed personnel	2,095,009	(single and married)
Spouses	1,075,302	
Children	1,546,630	
Parents/others	68,620	
TOTAL	4,785,561	

The military is organized in a series of ranks or grades that range from seaman or private to admiral or general, and there are 24 different gradations. There are two general categories, the officers and the enlisted personnel; 14% of which are officers and 86% enlisted.

See pie graph on percent of Uniformed Personnel-Officers/Enlisted

It is clear that if an average military family were to be described, it would likely be drawn from the enlisted ranks. In view of that fact the greatest numbers of enlisted personnel are in the E4 or E5 rank it would be logical that the "average" or "typical" American military family would have an active duty member in one of these ranks. Names of this rank depending on the branch of service affiliation are: Sergeant, Corporal, Specialist 4 or 5, Petty Officer 3rd class or 2nd class.

See pie and bar graphs on pages 15 and 16

The "average" or the most likely composite profile of a military family would be the following:

- The uniformed husband/father is age 23-25, in the rank of E4 or E5. He has a high school diploma and has probably been in the service four to six years.
- The wife/mother is a civilian married to a uniformed member of the Armed Forces (at one time she was referred to as a dependent). She is 21-23 years of age has a high school diploma.
- This family has two children, one near kindergarten age, and the other one a toddler or infant.
- They have been married just over five years.
- The military pay portion of the E4 family income is $1225 gross per month, including housing allowance; their annual salary $14,700.00 or $7.00 per hour based on a typical 40 hour week. The military pay for the average E5 is $1,332 gross per month, including housing allowance, or $15,900.00 - or $7.60 per hour based on a 40 hour week.
- In this family there is a 40% chance that the uniformed member is "moonlighting," or working at night; this income would be about 25% additional family income.

- The wife likely works at a minimum wage on a part-time basis, thereby contributing 20% additional family income.

  (Note: It would not be highly likely that the man worked nights and the woman worked also--it would probably be one or the other).

- This family is probably $2,000 to $5,000 in debt.

- It operates one car and probably lives off the military installation since housing is not available for all military families. It is also likely that this family does not use the military commissary or exchange on a regular basis.

Military and their family members have a distinct lifestyle as a result of the military career that is different from a lifestyle in other groups of the American population. Basically, there are eight factors that make the military family life unique.

Before these factors are identified they should be given some attention as a "package of factors." Each of the eight factors listed can be found in other subgroups of the American population (many civilian families move, live overseas, and at times experience family separation), but the military family has these eight factors as a given in their lifestyle. That is to say that in the course of the families' affiliation with the military service they will probably experience all of the factors--many of them repeatedly, and several of the factors will be experienced simultaneously. The eight military family lifestyle factors are:

Mobility
Separation
Parent Absence
Child Adjustment
Overseas Living
High-stress/High-risk jobs
Military Family Needs vs. Military System Needs
Authoritarian Management Style of the Military

How does the "average" American military family fit with the military family lifestyle factors? We will review the eight factors with the "average" military family in mind.

MOBILITY: This family moves on the average of 2.2 times in a five year span. (61% of enlisted have had 1 to 3 moves in the first 6 years of their military life). For the average military family, issues involving mobility include whether the car can make it to the new duty station or if they have a second car for the wife, how will they move with two children and two cars? How will the family adjust to the reduction of family income caused by the wife no longer working and the loss of the income from moonlighting? Will the wife be able to find employment at the new duty station? How will this family absorb the out

of pocket expenses attached to the move? In view of the strain on the budget and the adjustment of the husband and wife, how will the logistics of moving, the setting up of a new household and adjusting to a new area be experienced by this family? The Policy on reimbursement of moving expenses is designed to increased with rank and not because of family factors. Some point out that some of this could be offset through a tax deduction, but that is of little use to our "average" American military family because they incur little or no tax liability.

SEPARATION: This family will be separated from relatives and lifelong friends, as well as from the newly formed friendships and support systems that are familiar (support systems refer to church, school, trusted babysitter, mechanic, and so on.) Military orders sometimes interrupt family plans, which results in a self-imposed family separation. An example of this is the spouse with a job she values, may be reluctant to move and decide to stay. The geographical marital separation puts a strain on many military marriages.

PARENT ABSENCE: The uniformed parent may be absent from the family unit for a variety of reasons--examples are short-term training exercises; a one- to-three-month temporary duty assignment for a school or technical training program; a remote, overseas, or sea duty assignment that precludes family member accompaniment (this may be a routine assignment with advance notice or a short notice response to national emergency or war). How will the children cope with the paternal absence? The nature of the separation, the frequency, and the length are important variables to consider in how children, youth, and the entire family copes with the parental absence. However, regardless of those variables it can be generally stated that in any separation each family member will experience a shift in roles during the parent absence phase as well as the reunion phase. Other intervening variables that will impact on a child coping with parental absence in the military family include:

- Is the separation long-term or short-term?
- Is the separation in peace-time or war-time?
- What is the age of the child?
- What is the sex of the child?
- How many prior episodes of parental absence has the child experienced?
- What are the mother's attitude and coping skill in the absent parent situation?
- What types of social supports that offer an absent parent model to the child are available?

Some research indicates the father's prolonged absence increases the probability of developmental difficulties in children. This is especially true in programmed intermittent and transient father absence with the preschool child. The absence of the father can impact on the child's emerging sense of gender identity; capacity to modulate and express aggression; and on his or her role as a child in the family.

A growing amount of research and literature on father absence in the military family indicates the effects of father absence on the child often reflects parental behaviors and attitudes regarding the situation.

One study of military families presenting at a pediatric clinic in the Army (N=258) reported that of the 100 families in the sample who had experienced father absence, 66 (or two-thirds) reported a problem with at least one child in the family which was serious enough to cause them to seek professional help. The author did not relate to how many families this clinic was available to as opposed to how many sought help for a parent absent related difficulty. Another study (N=531 all officers families) reported the finding that there is nothing intrinsically wrong with absence of father per se. Other factors appear to have more to do with the emotional stability or instability of a child. These studies are an example on contradictory findings.

There is much literature addressing father absence in the military family. Much of it is contradictory, but still it points to the fact that the father has a definite role in the development of his child--and paternal absence negatively affects that development.

However, much is still unknown as to what or how the specific effects of father absence may be impacting on the child.

OVERSEAS LIVING: The excitement and the adventure of the tour of duty for the military family of any grade or rank is prevalent. In terms of our "average" American military family, how many other young families with a $15,000 gross annual income would probably be offered this opportunity? If the life skills of the couple are well developed (to enable them to initiate some prior planning), and the wife does not mind the high likelihood of not being employed while overseas; and most importantly, if they are in relatively stable financial order; if this family can be fortunate enough to have a concerned and active family assigned to them who will help them with the transition (the military calls this the sponsorship program); if the family can find housing that is livable, affordable and located reasonably near the military installation, then the tour will be most desirable. Each time one of these conditions is absent the probability of the tour's being successful and satisfying is reduced. Many families have arrived in overseas to find that the children must travel great distances to go to school (or possibly attend boarding school) that language barriers are a major frustration, that isolation from friends and family members back in the states is accentuated by the distance, and cost of living is unexpectedly high (which adds to money problems) and for each of these problems there are fewer resources available overseas to facilitate intervention.

(NOTE: There is a Congressional limit on sponsored, or accompanied tours, which means not all families are sponsored by the military to go overseas with the uniformed member. When the family decides to follow the uniformed member overseas when the military does not sponsor them, the family will experience a different set of variables that can be more stress-producing).

An added stress to the overseas experience is the knowledge that in the event of international emergency the military member will be called to his or her military responsibility and the family will be left to the military system to be brought to safety. This plan to tend to family needs in such a situation is not highly regarded by military family members and is a source of stress for the sponsored family and, certainly, for the non-sponsored family.

CHILD ADJUSTMENT: Not all children at all ages and placement in the family adjust to the military lifestyle equally. Within the same family one child may thrive on changing schools every two or three years--while for another, these changes may be agony. And, as it is related in the section of parental absence, the child is affected by these absences but the evidence on exactly how they are affected is lacking.

HIGH STRESS/HIGH RISK JOBS: The mission of the military is national defense; the military family knows that the uniformed member is in constant readiness to be removed from the family unit on a moment's notice. The family also knows he may never return from this missi[illegible]. This cannot be ignored because the military advises the family to have power of attorney, wills drawn up, and their legal matters in order prior to the deployment. Each time the media covers the building up of a potential conflict that will mean United States military involvement, the military family feels the tension. The loss of lives of United States military in Beirut and Granada has been a sad and upsetting experience for most Americans, but for the military family it has underlined the very real risk of death attached to life in the military. The military has certain peace-time jobs that carry with them a high risk factor, and the constant state of readiness required for equipment and personnel is a source of stress in the military family.

MILITARY FAMILY NEEDS vs. MILITARY SYSTEM NEEDS: Not always does the timing of the needs of the family coincide with the needs of the military system. Military families compare statistics on the number of times the uniformed member has missed birthdays, anniversaries, Christmases, graduations, and so on. If the military needs the member to attend a training or school that conflicts with the needs of the family, a tension builds. Many a military father has been away on a training exercise, or out to sea, etc. when the birth of a child in his family occurred. There is no doubt that the military is more sensitive to the needs of the family today, but the mission of being ready to defend this nation is the primary concern.

AUTHORITARIAN MANAGEMENT STYLE: The military mission requires by its nature absolute authority over all military personnel, and military families share with their active duty sponsor this loss of control over their lives. NO UNITED STATES CIVILIAN FAMILY INCURS A COMPARABLE COST AS A CONDITION OF EMPLOYMENT.

The military family lifestyle factors can be challenges for families, and the factors can take on an added dimension when internal

family variables are included. Some of the family variables that can increase the likelihood of military family life being stressful are:

Dual Career (military member married to a military member):
Military members can be married to other military members within the same branch of the military or in a different branch. The marriage can be officer to officer, enlisted to enlisted, or officer to enlisted. The wife may be a higher rank than the husband. They may or may not get stationed in the same place, their benefits are figured differently in some cases. Some issues for the dual career family include who will care for the child when they are ill or in the case of national emergency.

Dual Career (military married to a career civilian woman):
In 1970, 30% of military wives worked, in 1980, 65% of military wives worked (this includes the wife in uniform). The military wife who has career aspirations finds the moving every 2 years a detriment to her career advancement. Later, the military family in which the husband and wife have distinct and different career goals may experience temporary separations. The military men become geographic bachelors because the wives choose not to move even though they want to continue the marriage. In the first case, attrition is the concern of the military. In the second case, the lack of a family team involved in the leadership of the entire military community is evident when the commanding officer's lady is not located at this installation. The military is responding to this issue in much the same way as the corporate community--they are developing job skills bank and women's resources on the installation to assist the family (however these are still in the prototype stage and each service only has one or two such agencies to date).
NOTE: In spite of the military family's reliance on the wife/mother's income, the military spouse is given no formal preference for civilian jobs on military installations--the one labor market she might expect to access.

Foreign-born spouse (can refer to ethnic or racially mixed families, also):
To date the military does not know exactly how many of these families there are in the military community. They do not know: how many of foreign-born spouses are recent arrivals with minimum coping and language skills, how many of them have been in this country for 10 years or more and have mastered the language but are still not comfortable with the culture, or how many of the foreign-born wives are fully comfortable with their transition. They do not know how many foreign-born spouses are European or Asian--and although program people indicate that the needs in support services to the two groups are quite different, no studies of significance have been conducted on these military families. The children of military families in this group are an unknown to the military

in terms of numbers or how they are doing socially or developmentally.

Family with a handicapped member:

If a member of the family is handicapped it may preclude that family from accepting (when they are given the choice) some duty stations because of the lack of services needed by that member. The services are sensitive to the needs of the family with a handicapped family member and encourage the servicemember to register information on the family member (including the type of handicap) with the military. The military is then willing to take this into consideration in the relocation of the family. It has been noted that the families are reluctant to register a handicapped family member because they perceive that this may hurt military career advancement because the military member is not available for duty as the military deems necessary. Is the perception based on some reality? Is this an erroneous perception? The answers to these questions are not known at this time.

The military family is thought to be important to the military in part because there is growing evidence that the quality of family living in the military community influences the uniformed members' readiness and retention (most of the evidence lacks empirical data to substantiate that which is to date known circumstantially and intuitively).

If it is true that military families do influence readiness and retention, and I strongly believe this is the case, then the specific issues that impact military families should be identified quantitively, and, where appropriate, acted upon.

The variables that family members see as deterents to making the military career choice are known. They have been identified through symposia, conferences, workshops and seminars, reports and studies where family members have given direct input. The history of this data gathering and issue reporting spans the last seven years. In that time each of the services has responded to military family input. The military has opened family support centers; they have written policy regarding child abuse/neglect and spouse abuse; improved child care regulations and standards; established the Military Family Resource Center, a centralized clearinghouse of resources for military family information and programs; addressed policy regarding handicapped family members, single parents and other issues. And each of the services has initiatives in consideration to further address and improve military family life.

However, many of the identified issues require Congressional action and/or funding before improvement can be realized.

The symposia, conferences, reports, etc., of the past seven years have produced a common list of issues which are beyond the services'

capability to change without Congressional support . The common list is as follows:

- Medical/CHAMPUS: The families report difficulty in obtaining an appointment. CHAMPUS is confusing, inadequate, and difficult to use.
- Dental: Dental care for family members is virtually non-existant.
- Housing: Families state that housing is inadequate in quantity and often in quality. Availability is based on rank not need.
- Relocation/Mobility: Each move costs the military family out of their own pocket and disrupts employment and career opportunities for the spouses.
- Deployment: Families cite length of deployment and lack of support mechanisms for family members to be a problem during pre-deployment, deployment, and reunion periods.
- Child care/Youth activities: Increased numbers of both parents working, single parents and dual military families indicates that the need for child care exceeds available openings. They also report needing flexible and extended hours. These points require facilities and staff in the solution.
- Education/DODDS: Spouses obtaining education in many cases must pay out of state tuition, and have educational pursuits interrupted. Families report experiencing the Department of Defense Dependent Schools as lacking standardization and quality assurance.

In the over two hundred year history of families in the military system programs have come and gone based on economics and interest of the era. Never in that time has a clear policy that states how responsive the military should be to military family members been determined. For instance, should the military operate battered spouse shelters - and if so, under what conditions? What are the parameters to military programs and services for military families?

The quality of life programs for children, youth and families in the military fluctuates because of a lack of definitive policy and because the dollars are vulnerable. Historically, funding for hardware displaces funding for family programs; and policy regarding family members has been in the main implicit.

If the children, youth and families of military personnel are to have an adequate quality of life that enhances them as individuals and promotes the military system to meet readiness and retention needs, I believe that policy must be written; and then, more importantly, funding earmarked specifically for family programs and needs should accompany the policy.

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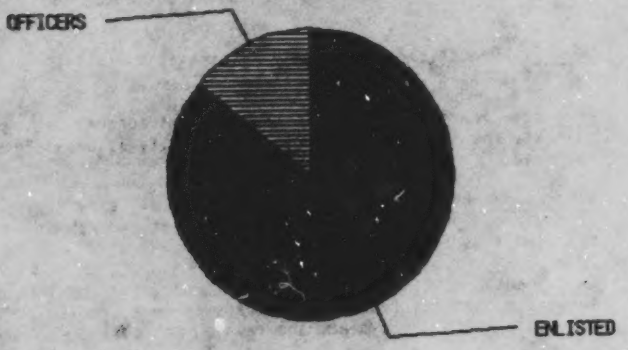
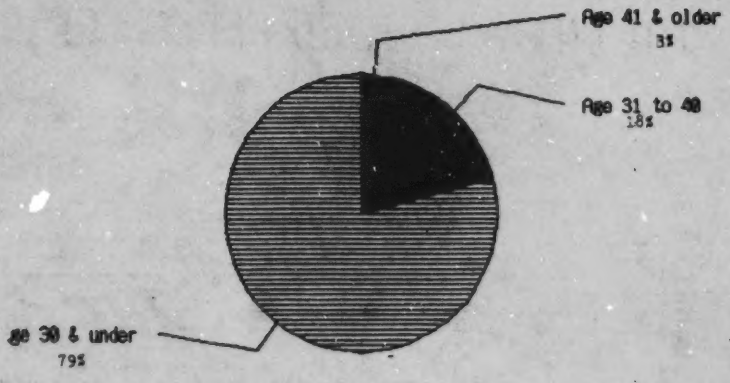
UNIFORMED PERSONNEL-OFFICERS/ENLISTED



14% of the military force is Officers
86% of the military force is Enlisted

* As of 9/30/82

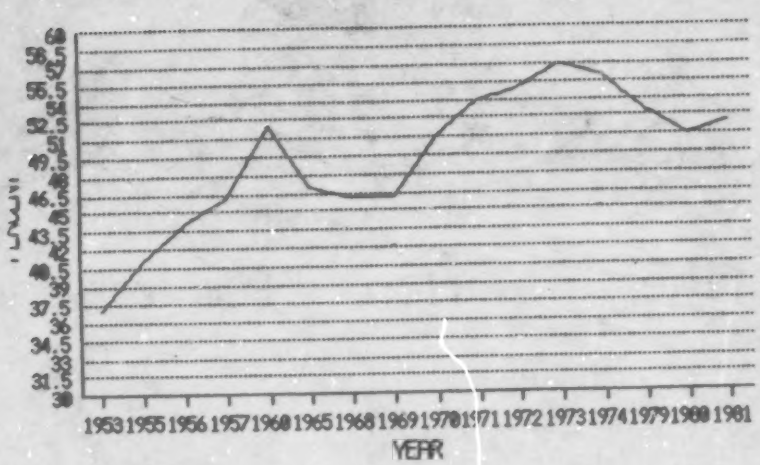


Ages of Uniformed Personnel

(Officer and Enlisted)

* As of 9/30/82

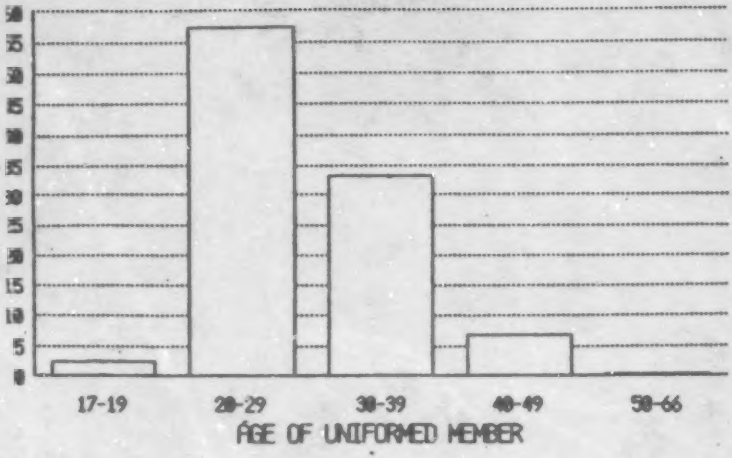
MILITARY MARRIED PERSONNEL



The percent of married personnel has increased over the last three decades. The percent married in 1953 was approximately 37%, the percent married in 1981 was approximately 52%.

DoD Married Enlisted

(Percent of married personnel by age)

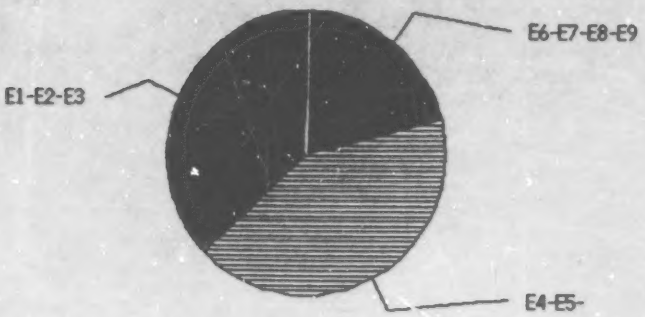


The enlisted personnel who are married are found most often in the age range of 20 to 29 (likely to be the rank of E4 or E5. Therefore the "average" or "typical" married enlisted family would be defined as most probably from this group.

* As of 9/30/82

(MFRC 11-83)

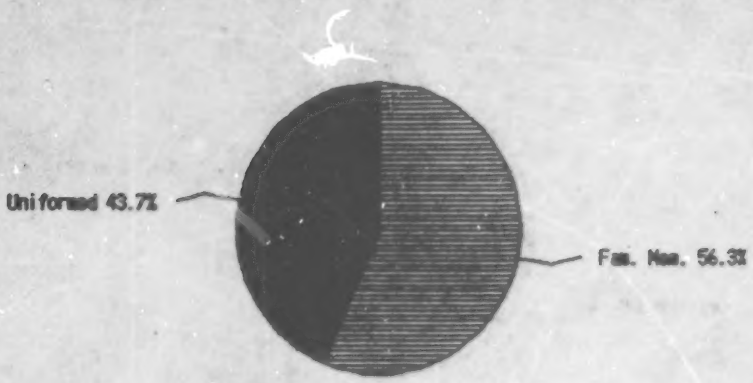
Enlisted by Rank Group



* As of 9/30/82

(MPRC 11-83)

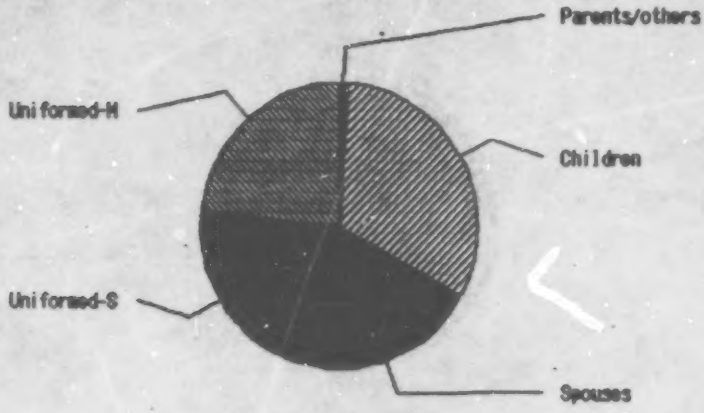
MILITARY PERSONNEL AND FAMILY MEMBERS



Military personnel	2,095,009
Family members	2,690,552

* As of 9/30/82

MILITARY AND FAMILY MEMBERS



* As of 9/30/82

(FPNC 11 83)

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Well, you are both wonderful. We cannot compliment you enough for being here and helping us shed some light on family issues.

General, let me start with you. The ranking member and I worked very hard on the dependent travel issue to permit college-age children one trip home a year when their families are stationed overseas. And as you probably know, we could never get out of DOD an exact sum for the cost of the proposal. We had to engage in a colloquy with the Chair and ranking minority member of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense to say we wanted to make sure they fund dependent travel for children of families serving in foreign posts. DOD would not give us a figure so we could put a sum certain in, so we ended up saying it was the intent of Congress that dependent travel be funded and funded out of operations and maintenance.

What do you do with that kind of lack of support from DOD? I mean it is outrageous that they cannot give us a figure.

General WICKHAM. Well, I appreciate your word "outrageous"—it really is—that we could not develop a more definitive figure. It probably is in the neighborhood of $1 million a year.

The symbolic act of the Congress to authorize us to do this and tell us to take the money out of OMA is fine, but it is the important commitment that will have the profound effect.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. We really hope you will keep this committee apprised if something goes offtrack. We not only wanted to authorize it; we wanted to make sure that there was a targeted appropriation so we would not get the squeeze put on us again.

Unfortunately, because we could never get a figure out of DOD, we could not target it and had to charge it to O&M. We want to change that as soon as possible because we feel that if the State Department has this for their families, it is totally unfair to have military families not have it. So please keep us informed.

General WICKHAM. I think over a period of time, Mrs. Schroeder, we probably can aggregate data as we find out exactly the number of students that are in college at any particular time.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. We really appreciate that.

I noticed, Shauna, in your testimony about important Army family issues, which I find very helpful, the employment assistance area comes up on all lists. One of the problems I hear about is that the status of forces agreements [SOFA] negotiated with countries where our overseas bases are located often prevent military spouses from working. Some say the State Department does a better job in getting slots for their spouses when they negotiate than they do for the military spouses.

Now, I do not know. Do you hear the same type of criticism?

General WICKHAM. Yes, we do. Status of forces agreements in various countries which are negotiated diplomatically do prescribe the conditions under which local labor and military dependent labor might be used.

In the Philippines, for example, it is very restrictive. In Korea and in Germany, I believe it is more liberal. We would find it helpful to have more liberal opportunity for spouse employment, but that needs to be weighed against the overall diplomatic objectives

that we are trying to achieve and base rights that may carry great strategic value.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I certainly understand that and none of us would want to jeopardize that. When you look at how much progress has been made by the State Department in spouse employment abroad, we just have not seen anything comparable in the military. They keep holding those job slots for the foreign labor pool, which many of our own people could do. It would certainly enhance their family life. I thought Shauna's comment was excellent. We have to remember at what income level we are paying military families abroad. That may be a real focus. I noticed this problem is at the top of the list and maybe this committee could make a real impact on the spouse-employment issue.

So thank you both for your insight into that.

Congressman Coats.

Mr. COATS. Thank you, and thank you both, Ms. Whitworth and General Wickham, for your excellent testimony.

I am particularly impressed, General Wickham, with your sensitivity to the problem and your commitment to doing something from the top down. I think in the past often these types of problems have probably been assigned to a lower level. But I think when the forces see that the Chief of Staff has a personal commitment, that both you and your wife have a personal commitment to the needs of families, it is going to make a tremendous psychological difference all the way down to the latest private recruit that serves in the military. I want to commend you for your involvement there.

Ms. Whitworth gave us her wish list as defined by many of the families, things that they think cannot be accomplished without congressional support. I wonder if you have in your mind a wish list in regard to services and support for Army families that you would like to leave with those of us in Congress. What would you ask Congress to give you in this area, in priority, or in some sense of priority if you had a wish list?

General WICKHAM. Congressman, let me take that for action and provide a response for the record.

The priority areas the Army needs congressional support for are: child care facilities, dental care for family members, completion of the aligning of CHAMPUS with Medicare/Medicaid by requiring the provider of care who accepts Medicare/Medicaid to accept CHAMPUS, not instituting a user fee for medical care, reduction of out-of-pocket expenses caused by relocation, and family housing.

General WICKHAM. I subscribe to everything that Shauna has outlined here. Perhaps I might elaborate on that.

In general, of course, as I touched on in my oral statement, to the extent that your committee can be instrumental in assuring more consistent support through the appropriations and authorization process so that we do not do foolish things that fly in the face of what the services are trying to do to help themselves.

No. 2, to the extent that your committee can sponsor legislation, legislative reform that helps us deal with our families in a more concrete, uplifting way, that will be helpful. And as things happen here, we will obviously call upon you with legislation, just as we did with this dependent travel issue.

Those would be sort of the general comments. I wonder if I might just tag a moment onto Shauna's statement, because we may be leaving an unfortunate impression here that there is an awful lot of turbulence in the Army that is self-generated in the services.

Yes, there is a lot of movement. The Congress has been helpful in the past in encouraging us to be more careful with permanent change of station [PCS] money. Much of the turbulence that comes from service life is due to accessions and separations. It has nothing to do with reassignment. Most of it is from accessions and separations.

Mr. COATS. Would you define for us what you mean by "accessions?"

General WICKHAM. Recruiting. New people coming and those people leaving the service at the end of their time of service or retirement. So that is involved. That is factored into those figures of two or so moves every 5 years.

What we are trying to do in the Army that is a parallel to this whole approach of wellness and sense of community and partnership, we are trying to stabilize people in positions from the top down. I have started the policy of keeping our generals in positions at least 2 years rather than this terrific cycling of people. And I think if the top down stabilization can take place, then we are going to see people staying in locations for 3, 4, 5 years. And that has a signal bearing on the wellness of the family and children in schools, the whole approach.

Mr. COATS. Thank you.

I have a long list of questions, but I know your time is very limited, and I want to give other members of the panel a chance.

I will yield back the balance of my time.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very much.

Congressman Miller, who is the chairman of the full committee has come in. We are very honored to have him here.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

General Wickham, you just mentioned again that the Army embraces the concept of "wellness" within the Army family. I think it is a rather exciting concept and is certainly a healthy one to be put forth. Can you give us some indication when the Army will start to identify specific programs and policies to begin implementation of that goal.

Do you have a plan that has been put forth that the committee could look at or that could be made part of the record?

General WICKHAM. Yes, sir. I can add that to the record. It is just not talk. There are actions underway.

The Army Plan 1986–2000 calls for the implementation of specific programs and policies toward implementation of the concept of "wellness". An objective of the Total Army's Human Goal is to develop people who are fit: mind, body, and spirit. Consequently, we have concentrated on total fitness in the Army. This includes not only soldier but also family member involvement in programs to improve readiness, reduce/adapt to stress, improve lifestyle, and improve nutritional habits. Ongoing initiatives include establishment of The Soldier Fitness Center at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana, publishing a series of fitness handbooks (commander, individual and family), actions to "deglamorize" alcohol abuse, The Family Advocacy Program dealing not only with the symptoms of abuse, but with healthy families to prevent abuse, programs to help stop smoking, youth and Army sports programs, and family enrichment seminars.

The Army Family Action Plan details several other specific initiatives that we are taking to foster wellness (i.e. total fitness: mind, body and spirit). A copy of this plan has been given to each member of the committee.

Chairman MILLER. I assume if you say it, it is not just talk.

General WICKHAM. No, sir. It involves, for example, putting low sodium food into the commissary, encouraging better weight control on the part of the soldier and the family. We are teaching our cooks to cook with low cholesterol, low salt. We are trying to get that same kind of training and education out into the family. So there are active things underway. That is just the top of the iceberg.

Chairman MILLER. You cited the figure, Shauna, that servicewide there were some 20,000 adolescents between, I think you said, 17 and 19. And they should not be there if they are under 17, right?

Ms. WHITWORTH. That is right.

Chairman MILLER. And many of them are married, and many of them are married to someone who is 2.4 years younger than they are. How does a family handle—how does the Army family handle the issue of planned pregnancy or education to these young people?

We have spent a lot of time in this committee looking at teenage pregnancies and the impact of that pregnancy on the family, on the woman, on the child. How does the Army cope with that issue, or plan to if they are not? I am not clear whether it has been highlighted as part of the White Paper.

Ms. WHITWORTH. I do not know that it is in the white paper specifically or in the family action plan, but I know that in the family practice area of military medical care there is a focus on working with those families on the highest priority basis, to work with family planning and many of the other issues, including development of life skills. And medical and social service personnel work closely with these very young families, identify them and stay with them.

Chairman MILLER. So if you are a new recruit and you are 17, 18 and you decide to get married, which apparently is fairly common, there would be some effort to direct those education programs to those people? Because it obviously has a great impact on the military later on. All of a sudden you not only have a spouse at this point, raising the questions of mobility and separation, but now you have children as well, which compounds the issue.

General WICKHAM. We are not in the business, Mr. Congressman, as you know, of discouraging children.

Chairman MILLER. I understand.

General WICKHAM. But we are in the business of trying to do a better job of informing folks, and we do have the Army family physician program where we have a family practice in our hospitals, and we seek to identify a doctor with a family so that they develop a relationship there of informality and wise counseling.

The opportunities are there. We are encouraging greater use of these capabilities. An illustration: In Korea—I have 3 years there, the opportunity to marry in Korea is large, as it is in many countries where we have our young soldiers. These marriages are carefully counseled before they occur so the soldier is fully aware of all of the implications, the social problems he may encounter in that

country and back in the United States, and it covers the gamut of issues here dealing with family points.

Chairman MILLER. I raise the point because the number of married adolescents mentioned in the previous panel caught me by surprise. There are so many considerations that the military has with respect to carrying out its mission. So much depends on the choices these young people will make, and what they will mean in terms of, as I believe Shauna talked about, the factors of military life. Whether they are going to have overseas duty or not, what is the separation time, the "no notice" maneuvers that we have seen both by the Rangers in Grenada and the Navy. If wellness is the goal, healthy relationships between the husband and the wife, and hopefully the child, can certainly be enhanced if they are prepared for what will follow.

General WICKHAM. There are all kinds of dimensions. There are the formal, official things that we have talked of, the family physician program. There is the networking arrangement of other wives—first sergeant's wife, platoon sergeant's wife, commander's wife—that deals with the informal counseling: this is what you are going to expect, these are some of the implications of being in the service.

So not to say that we cannot do more.

Chairman MILLER. Thank you.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to the next gentleman because he is the one who provided us the room.

Mr. Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you very much. I will not ask very many questions because of your time, but I did read your white paper, and I put it in the Congressional Record. I was so impressed because when I was in the Army, it seemed the only people who were interested in these matters were the chaplains. Sometimes they did not seem too interested in them. I am very impressed that you have taken the time out of your busy schedule to come here. Those of us here know this, but I hope that Army Times and other newspapers that are targeted for enlisted personnel will report this fact. I hope the word gets out. Maybe someone in the audience will help, so that our servicemen will know that you cared enough to take the time to come here and make this a public issue because of your concern about it.

I live in the Washington metropolitan area, and my children constantly come home from school telling me that one of their best friends' family is being transferred, or moving here or moving there. Could you elaborate more on the question of mobility and its effect on families?

Do you give any special consideration for an enlisted man or an officer when their children are, for example, in the 11th grade or 12th grade ready to graduate? Do you give any special consideration should they want to stay at a duty station for one extra year until their child finishes school?

General WICKHAM. I would say that we try to do that. I have made decisions from the top down. I do manage all of the general officers in the Army. And in guidance to our assignments people

for colonels and below, I try to give thought to that issue if they have a child, having had children through the same problem, I understand it.

But I must say I am not sure we do a very good job of it. The overriding needs of the service, like Grenada or the needs to deploy forces to Europe in connection with improving our capabilities there, these overriding operational needs sometimes get in the way of trying to do justice to the family side of it.

We can do a better job of that, and we are experimenting now, as I mentioned earlier, with efforts to try to locate people where there are facilities to take care of exceptional children, where there are work opportunities for the sponsor's family member that needs to work in relationship to job occupation. So we are trying programs to fit in with the thought that you are suggesting there.

Mr. WOLF. Earlier were you suggesting that if a military family had a child with a learning disability or special need that this would be a factor in locating the military person?

General WICKHAM. Yes, sir, exactly. And that is officially part of his preference statement, his or her preference statement, and that is a key factor, if not the overriding factor, in where we will try to assign that individual.

Mr. WOLF. Ms. Whitworth, do you want to say more about mobility and schedules with regard to the effect on family lives? The witness before said that employment policies and work schedules probably have the most powerful influence of all on fathers' roles with their children and youth, and the influence is not a supportive one, unquote.

Do you have any comments about mobility problems, flexitime and schedules which do not permit an individual to be with his or her family?

Ms. WHITWORTH. The interesting thing about mobility in the military service is that there is more mobility in the officers' families than in the enlisted families, although officers represent 14 percent of the force, and the enlisted represent 86 percent of the force.

There is tremendous effort in the services to reduce unnecessary mobility and family factors are involved in this. Efforts are also underway to provide more housing overseas. I know that some of the services, particularly in the Okinawa area, have been trying to provide more housing. Lack of a place to live has been virtually the only thing that has stopped the family from accompanying the service member in many cases.

I think the families are more aware of the father's role as are the fathers and families have made the importance of the father's role in child development more clear to the military. There is now a much stronger family/military partnership in working on this issue.

I commend the Army particularly for their family efforts, although all branches of the military service are attempting to improve family life.

Mr. WOLF. In your last comment, you commended the Army in particular. Do you believe the Navy and the Air Force are also doing a good job?

Ms. WHITWORTH. They are all working at it, and each has some very, very good programs. We list those programs out at the Military Family Resource Center and provide abstracts and contact information so that the services can share their good ideas. Each of them are working very hard.

I would suspect that the Navy's problem with having parent absence in the deployment with the very close intermittent is quite a bit different from some of the other services, but the SAC situation is very difficult also, and in strong training situations in the Army you see it again. They are each different in their approach to doing this sort of thing because the needs of the services are different, and therefore, the family factors are different.

Mr. WOLF. I have a closing comment. I agree with Mrs. Schroeder's statement regarding the ability to find jobs on U.S. military installations overseas. I recently went to Germany, and on every military base I visited most of the people were German nationals. I believe there is no justification for giving jobs to German nationals when we have American citizens, husbands and wives, looking for and needing jobs. We plow a lot of money into the German economy, and maybe that is from the State Department more than at DOD. But I think we should make every effort in Congress to investigate employment situations. We should do something from a public standpoint, maybe a resolution or letter to the State Department.

I believe that any American citizen working at any base in any country should have preference over a foreign national. This should be the policy of our Government.

Again, I want to thank both of you for coming, and I appreciate it very much.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very much.

The next person I will call on is Congressman Sikorski from Minnesota.

Mr. SIKORSKI. I have no questions. I compliment the panel.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. We are glad to have you here.

And Congresswoman Johnson from Connecticut.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Thank you very much for being here today. I will be brief, General, as I know you are in a hurry.

I just want to commend you on your mayoral system. I think with a family spending their lives in the military, it is always frustrating to vote on the candidates in their town with whom they have had literally no contact. And I think for them to have no involvement and experience in our democracy is unhealthy for them and certainly unhealthy for us; and I cannot believe that governance on your bases does not benefit from establishing a political system analogous to that in the civilian sector.

And I just want to mention two other things. First of all, in terms of the constant relocation, I do not understand why it is so difficult to develop a policy that would expose families perhaps to constant moves when the children are young but would reduce that pace of relocation as the children grow. It is really a major reason why people leave the service and a legitimate one. And I know from my own experience in the service it is not so hard when the children are little. It is easy to make new friends. It is easy to meet parents on a base when they have little children and you have

little children. But when the children get older, it is really a very difficult problem. And I should think that you would be able to at least create some situation where a high school and junior high could be consistent.

General WICKHAM. Well, it is a laudable goal, but the business we are in is a tough, competitive business; and if we are to have the readiest forces that we can and use these resources that are entrusted to us as best we can, we have got to train our people. And as young people go to schools to improve their training, as they grow in rank and have to move to new assignments, that seems to come in priority; and we will just have to do the best that we can to deal with the family dimension of it and the schools for the older children.

My own children have suffered from a similar circumstance. They have been moved in high schools and in junior high schools. Two of them are in the Army. One of them is an officer and the other has married an officer, and they have turned out well—not that others have not.

I think that young children can live through the trauma of moves—it is not easy—and they can be better for it if the family institutional support there will help with that. If as they move to a new location there is an outreach, the arms come out of the whole community to uplift them and bring them in in a wholesome environment, if the medical facilities and the youth facilities, the opportunities to get involved in community activities are there, I think that the transition can be managed.

That may sound like a little bit of a heartless approach to it, but——

Mrs. JOHNSON. No, I appreciate that there is no absolute solution and no simple system, and I appreciate your concern with it. And I just want to express, too, my support of Mr. Wolf's comments.

In your section on sense of community you do stress the effort that you make to develop a family's ability to become involved in community organization problem solving and volunteerism. But I can tell you, as a woman who was very involved in community organizations and volunteerism, that women now are looking to also expand the family's income stream, economic security, and opportunity. And I feel just as strongly as Mr. Wolf that at any base, at home or abroad, service families can benefit from part-time work, because when your children do get in school, it is so terribly useful. And, a base setting is the ideal setting for job sharing because there is not usually the commuting problem.

So I would certainly urge you to develop policies that not only enable wives to work b[illegible]ake it easy, provide training, provide notice of employment o[illegible]rtunities, provide notice of community-based programs that are available to them in the surrounding communities to get prepared and that kind of thing, because otherwise, you know, your wives do have to take an unusual amount of responsibility, therefore, in certain circumstances, and therefore, their ability to be connected into a full-time job offbase may be limited.

But I think that the base has the responsibility to provide the kind of flexible employment settings and alternatives that I am sure would serve you and certainly I am sure would serve many of

the women who play such an important role in our forces very well. And I would just encourage you to move in that direction.

General WICKHAM. That is a thoughtful observation, and we take it to heart. The social fabric of our young people has changed; no question about it. The wives do work. Volunteeism is harder to come by now, and we need to do a better job of taking advantage of those who are in a better position to volunteer—retiree wives, for example, retired people that can go to work in hospitals or in an advisory capacity. We also need to do a better job, as you pointed out, of finding work in part-time employment to help with that.

Mrs. JOHNSON. May I just add one other thought that just occurred to me? It may be very useful to extend that same kind of thinking to your teenagers, because again, you know, in our communities throughout America the kids are going to work at 16 to make part of their own money, and it could be an enormous resource.

General WICKHAM. We do have an extensive, as you may know, an extensive program of youth employment during the summer months, very extensive.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Thank you.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you.

Congressman Sikorski.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Madam Chairman, I do not know if it is on the record because of triple scheduling, but I think it is important to make the point that the focus on the family has some economic and military benefits, as you well know. The retention rate in our services is about 10 times what it is in the Soviet services, and the cost of training alone is exceptional. And every time we keep a person in the service as a career or partial career, we are doing a lot to save our long-term dollar and also making our force a much better force.

I would suggest that people who have criticized us for the pension system, which I think from every shred of testimony I have understood is an important part of that retention rate, look at those savings. They have criticized us in some instances for paying people and providing bonuses and the rest of it, and they might be critical of any efforts in this family area. But I would suggest that anything we do to bolster the family support for the men and women who are in the services will pay off both in terms of dollars, just saving dollars in that military budget, and in terms of a better fighting force, better armed services.

I think it should be said. Maybe you have said it already.

General WICKHAM. Thank you very much, Mr. Sikorski. That is helpful to us.

I would just pick up on a point you mentioned, that as I go around and talk with soldiers, and families, and the other service chiefs do the same, do you know what the single most issue of concern to them and their families is? The retirement system and what the Congress is likely to do with it. That is a bellwether, and it is going to have serious implications if we are not very judicious with retention and with attraction of quality young people.

For the first termers, retirement is not that important to them. For the second and third termers, it becomes the No. 1 issue for them. It is not so much, I suppose, what is done in terms of adjust-

ment. It is the fact that there is an instability of the future that is being brought on by the constant reiteration: we are going to have to fix this, we are going to have to make some adjustments there.

Mr. SIKORSKI. It is also—Madam Chair, if I could say—it is also a recognition that the efforts people are putting into this particular career are noteworthy. If you take military people and put them into civilian life, many times they could make a lot more money and deal probably with less hours, less family disruption, and the rest. And that system, the pension system and the other parts of our military compensation system, is recognition, acknowledgement that what they are doing is important to the country. And I think the family is involved in that, as well as the particular individual who is getting the money.

General WICKHAM. Amen. You would have a hard time telling the wife who has lost a Ranger in Grenada that her husband's job is like that of someone in civil life.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very, very much, General Wickham and Ms. Whitworth. I think you were excellent witnesses. We cannot thank you enough. I am sure we have more questions. We may send some more questions over just to keep this communication going. We have so much we would like to do in that area.

Thank you, and we appreciate your being here.

General WICKHAM. Thank you very much for the opportunity to share some of our views with you, and thank you also for the support of this committee.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. We hope to give a whole lot more.

Thanks.

We apologize to the other panels as the time keeps clicking on. We now turn to panel three, which we are very enthusiastic to hear from.

The first witness on panel three is Michael E. Lamb, Ph.D., professor from the Department of Psychology, Psychiatry and Pediatrics at the University of Utah. The second witness is Henry B. Biller, Ph.D., professor of psychology from the University of Rhode Island. And lastly, John McAdoo, Ph.D., who is an associate professor of social work and community planning at the University of Maryland.

If the three of you could come to the table, we will also bring back our first panel for questions. Maybe we can catch up here a little bit. We will take a break while you all find seats and get organized. We start by paying tribute to your patience.

Dr. Biller, we are glad to see you brought some help. That is wonderful. You are fathering right here. That is delightful.

I am sure no one would mind if you would like to start out. We would be more than happy to defer to you. You have been terrifically patient, and your arms may be giving out.

If you would like to introduce yourself and start out, we would be delighted to have you begin.

STATEMENT OF HENRY B. BILLER, PH.D., PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND, KINGSTON, R.I.

Mr. BILLER. I very much appreciate the opportunity to give testimony to this exceptionally important committee. I enjoyed very

much the discussion that I have been exposed to so far, and I hope that I can add something to it.

The statistics concerning the vast amount of father absence among children in our country, although they are very dramatic, fail to convey the very serious consequences of paternal deprivation found in so-called father present families.

A child does not necessarily have to be separated from the father to suffer from paternal deprivation. Paternal deprivation can occur when the father is available but there is not an adequate father-child relationship.

The father who is passive, ineffectual, and not emotionally involved with his child can have a very negative impact on the child's development. There are many fathers who are completely obsessed with their work, with lying on the couch when they get home or committed to activities such as jogging and other leisure time pursuits from which their children are excluded.

On the other hand, I would certainly emphasize that many activities have the potential for including a child, and certainly there are varied aspects of the workaday world where a child can participate.

Paternal deprivation and father absence affect far more children than do maternal deprivation and maternal absence. I am in no way trying to argue against the significance of the mother's role in development. Both fathers and mothers are very important in child development. But in our society there are many more children who have inadequate fathers than have inadequate mothers. A very interesting phenomenon in our society is that if a child is mother absent or the child has a disabled mother there is typically a sensitivity to that child's needs emanating from women. It is very hard for women who are aware of the situation to sit back and ignore that child.

In our social system we generally provide at least the potentiality for many possible surrogate mothers, whether we are talking about certain kinds of day-care situations, the female relatives of the parents or even teachers. There are usually adequate female adults who tend to be interested in children in addition to the mother.

In contrast, when a child is paternally deprived or clearly father absent, we find that there is not the social support system in terms of available and interested adult males. There are very few males in most cases who are willing to take an interest in the child. In our preschool, nursery school, and day-care settings, and even in our elementary schools up to the fourth or fifth grade or so, it is very rare, for example, to find a male teacher. It is unusual in our society to find men who are involved in early child education.

There is much evidence that paternally deprived children are more at risk for cognitive and behavioral adjustment difficulties and are more vulnerable to negative developmental influences than are adequately fathered children. However, father absence in itself does not necessarily lead to developmental deficits and/or render the father-absent child inferior in psychological functioning relative to the father-present child.

Fatherless children are far from a homogeneous group. Many factors need to be considered in evaluating the father absent situa-

tion. What type of absence is it? Is it long term, is it constant, is it temporary, is it intermittent? What is the reason for father absence? Are we talking about the death of the father? Are we talking about divorce? Are we talking about demands of the father's employment? These are important issues.

What about the quality of the preseparation father-child relationship? Some father-absent children have been, in a sense, relatively fortunate because prior to the absence of the father they received high quality interaction with him and had a strong positive attachment to him. Such a situation may bode very well for children in their later development, despite the fact that they have to suffer through the trauma of some sort of father loss.

The child's age, the child's sex, the child's temperament and other constitutional characteristics are crucial in understanding the impact of the family system and father absence on the child. We have to remember that the child's behavior influences parental response and the response of other people to the child. The child is not a tabula rasa. Children have characteristics and tendencies which can make them easier to parent or more difficult to parent.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I am going to have to interrupt because we have a behavioral response when the bells go off. We have all been conditioned to respond to that, and we must run to vote. So we will let you do some parenting while we are gone. I must say, he is adorable.

We will be right back.

[Recess.]

Mrs. SCHROEDER. If we can reconvene the hearing.

Dr. Biller, if you could quickly summarize because I am afraid we are going to be running back and forth for amendments from now on, which is going to be tough. I would appreciate that.

Mr. BILLER. I had made the point that father absence in itself does not necessarily lead to developmental deficits or render the father-absent child inferior in psychological functioning to the father-present child. There are many, many factors that need to be considered if we are going to understand the impact of father absence and individual differences among father-absent children.

There are different types of father absence in terms of whether we are talking about constant father absence, long-term father absence, temporary father absence or intermittent father absence. We need to look at the reason for father absence, whether it is the death of the father, divorce, desertion, or whether it has something to do with the father's employment. We need to look at the quality of the preseparation father-child relationship. And as I mentioned earlier, if children have been relatively well-fathered for the first several years of their life, even if they experience the trauma of father loss, they are more likely to be able to make an adequate adjustment.

The child's temperament and other constitutional characteristics also need to be taken into consideration. Children, for example, who are hyperkinetic or children who have different types of sensory or intellectual handicaps may put stress on family functioning and the marital relationship. Even though the child's disabilities are not the only factor, they may actually lead to marital conflict and father disengagement at a later period in time.

The mother's reaction to husband absence is very important, as is her view of the absent father. Is she very negative and bitter about the father, is she relatively accepting of the father? It is interesting that much research indicates that mothers are usually much more positive, as one might expect, about husbands who have died than they are about husbands from whom they are divorced.

We need to look at the quality of the mother-child and sibling interactions in the family. It is just not the parents' impact on the children. Children have other people in the family, including siblings and grandparents, who may take much responsibility in their upbringing. Some research does indicate that father-absent children who have an extended family including grandparents who are involved with them, seem to fare better than children who are more isolated in a single-parent family.

The family's socioeconomic status can certainly be a very critical variable. Poor children seem to be more debilitated by father absence than are children from more affluent homes. Father absence seems to put children more at risk when they are also economically disadvantaged. Sometimes father absence precedes economic disadvantagement, and sometimes economic disadvantagement undermines the marital relationship and makes father absence more likely.

There is evidence which has revealed that children with competent mothers are less likely to have certain types of developmental deficits than are children who have, for example, an overprotective mother and a passive, ineffectual father.

Father-absent children are not necessarily worse off than children who live in intact families. One of the big problems with much research has been that many investigators have simply taken a group of children whose fathers do not happen to be living in the home and compared them with a group of children whose fathers are living at home. Individual differences in family circumstances of both the father-present children and the father-absent children have often been ignored. Research which has carefully matched children with highly involved fathers with those who have had an absent father for a significant period of time, and do not have any available surrogate father, reveals striking advantages for the father-present children in terms of their social and personality functioning. On the other hand, there has been research which suggests that there may not be very much difference between a child who is father absent and a father-present child who has a very low level of positive interaction with his father.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Can you please summarize since we are running out of time. I am so sorry.

Mr. BILLER. As a function of differing maternal values and reinforcement patterns, middle class father-absent children are generally less handicapped in intellectual and academic pursuits than are father-absent children of low socioeconomic status.

Middle class father-absent children appear to receive more maternal encouragement for developing language, reading and other academic skills, as well as for school achievement than do economically deprived father-absent children.

It is interesting to note the increasing amount of research emphasizing the impact that fathers can have even during infant de-

velopment. Father absence beginning in infancy and before the age of 4 or 5 appears to have a more disruptive effect on the individual's personality development than does father absence beginning at a later period in childhood.

Father-absent males seem particularly likely to develop insecurity in their self-concept and sexuality. There is some evidence that males are more affected by father absence than are females, but there is a growing body of research which supports the conclusion that by adolescence, females are at least as much influenced in their interpersonal and hetereosexual development by father absence as are males.

Research points to a particularly high frequency of early and continuing father absence among emotionally disturbed children and adults. Of course, in some cases constitutionally atypical children contribute to the development of marital stress, conflict and parental separation.

Some data indicate that individuals who suffered early father loss because of their father's death are more likely to show symptoms of inhibition, lack of assertiveness, anxiety and depression, but are less likely to have the cognitive, academic and impulse control problems often found in children of divorced parents.

Even though children living with their mothers subsequent to a divorce may be labeled father absent, there is tremendous variability in the amount of contact they have with their fathers. In some families, children whose parents are divorced may never again see their fathers, whereas in other families they may even spend more quality time with them than they did prior to the divorce. Many children whose fathers do not live with them spend more time with their fathers than do children in so-called father-present families.

Recent research has clearly supported the advantage for children of a high level of positive father interaction even when the parents are divorced and the children reside with their mothers. Observations of shared and joint custody arrangements also indicate the advantages for children of high positive father involvement, as well as mother involvement, postdivorce.

[Prepared statement of Henry B. Biller follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HENRY B. BILLER, UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND

Father absence is a widespread and profound problem—over twenty percent of the children in this country, in excess of ten million, live in fatherless homes. In some areas the figure is more than fifty percent. Because of the currently high divorce rate, it is estimated that forty to fifty percent of children born in the last decade will spend at least a significant portion of their childhoods in single-parent families. At the present time, only about ten percent of children living in single-parent homes live with their fathers, although this percentage is increasing.

These statistics fail to communicate the serious consequences of the paternal deprivation found in many so-called "father-present" families. Paternal deprivation is a term that can be used to include various inadequacies in a child's experience with his father or father surrogate. Paternal deprivation can be in the context of total father absence or separation from the father for some extended period of time. But the child does not necessarily have to be separated from the father to suffer from paternal deprivation. Paternal deprivation can occur when the father is available but there is not an adequate father-child attachment. Paternal deprivation and father absence affect far more children than do maternal deprivation and maternal absence. Furthermore, in most subcultures there are likely to be many more "mother-surrogates" available to the mother-deprived child than there are "father-surrogates" for the father deprived child.

There needs to be an examination of the quality of the father's behavior when he is available and interacting with his child. A strong and positive attachment to a nurturant, competent and available father can do much to facilitate the child's development, but an attachment to an ineffectual and/or emotionally disturbed father can be conceived of as a particular form of paternal deprivation. In addition, paternal deprivation does not take place in a vacuum. For example, paternal deprivation is often a contributing variable leading to a disadvantaged environment. In general, economically deprived children seem to be more debilitated by the effects of father absence than are middle class children.

Much of the interest in paternal deprivation has been an outcome of growing concern with the psychological, social and economic disadvantages often suffered by fatherless children. There is much evidence that paternally-deprived children are more at-risk for cognitive and behavioral adjustment difficulties, and are more vulnerable to negative developmental influences than are adequately fathered children. It is important to emphasize, however, that father absence per se does not necessarily lead to developmental deficits and/or render the father-absent child inferior in psychological functioning relative to the father-present child. Fatherless children are far from a homogeneous group. To begin with, an almost infinite variety of patterns of father absence can be specified. Many factors need to be considered in evaluating the father-absent situation: type (constant, temporary, intermittant, etc.), length, cause; the quality of the pre-separation father-child relationship, the child's age, sex, temperament and other constitutional characteristics; the mother's reaction to husband-absence, the quality of mother-child and sibling interactions, the family's socioeconomic status, and the availability of extended family and surrogate models. The father-absent child may not be paternally deprived because he has a very adequate father-surrogate, or he may be less paternally deprived than many father-present children.

The child who has both an involved and competent mother and father is more likely to have generally adequate psychological functioning, and is less likely to suffer from developmental deficits and psychopathology, than is the child who is reared in a father-absent family. This generalization is not the same as assuming that all father-absent children are going to have more difficulties in their development than are all father-present children. For example, there is evidence which indicates that father-absent children with competent mothers are less likely to have certain types of developmental deficits than are children who have a dominating mother and a passive-ineffectual father. Also, individuals whose fathers are highly available in terms of physical presence but very noninvolved with them emotionally may have particular difficulties in their interpersonal adjustment. The father-absent child may develop a more flexible image of adult men, and at least be seeking out some type of effective father surrogate, whereas the child with a passive-ineffectual and/or rejecting father may have a very negative image of adult males and avoid interacting with them.

The psychological adjustment of the mother in the father-absent family is a crucial factor; a mother who is emotionally disturbed and/or interpersonally handicapped can have a very negative effect on the father-absent child's self-concept and ability to relate to others. On the other hand, mothers who are self-accepting, who have high ego strength, are interpersonally mature and can effectively set limits, can do much to facilitate positive personality development among their paternally-deprived children.

The mother's attitudes are often related to her social and economic opportunities and are readily transmitted to the child. Maternal views concerning the worth of education are often linked to sociocultural background. As a function of differing maternal values and reinforcement patterns, middle-class father-absent children are generally less handicapped in intellectual and academic pursuits than are father-absent children of low socioeconomic status. Middle-class father-absent children appear to receive more maternal encouragement for developing language, reading and other academic skills, as well as for school achievement, than do economically deprived father-absent children.

The age of onset of paternal deprivation is another important variable. The lack of an attachment to a father or father surrogate in the first few years of life, or a relatively permanent disruption of an ongoing fathering relationship, may have unfortunate consequences for the child. It is interesting to note the increasing amount of research underscoring the impact that fathers can have even during infant development. Father absence before the age of four or five appears to have a more disruptive effect on the individual's personality development than does father absence beginning at a later period. For example, children who become father absent before the age of four or five are likely to have more difficulties in their sex role and

sexual adjustment than either father-present children or children who become father-absent at a later time. Father-absent males seem particularly likely to develop insecurity in their self-concept and sexuality even though they may strive to be highly masculine in more manifest aspects of their behavior.

Other data have indicated that early father absence is often associated with difficulties in intellectual and academic functioning (particularly analytical and quantitative abilities), a low level of independence and assertiveness in peer relations, feelings of inferiority and mistrust of others, antisocial and delinquent behavior, and difficulties in later occupational performance. There is some evidence that males are more affected by father absence than are females, but there is a growing body of research which supports the conclusion that by adolescence, females are at least as much influenced in their interpersonal and heterosexual development by father absence as are males. It is crucial for both boys and girls to have positive experiences with adult males as well as adult females, and paternally deprived individuals are more likely than those who have been adequately fathered to have problems sustaining intimate family relationships in adulthood.

Research points to a particularly high frequency of early father absence (before age four) among emotionally disturbed children and adults. Of course, in some cases constitutionally atypical children contribute to the development of marital stress, conflict and parental separation. Father absence due to divorce, separation or desertion has generally been found to be more associated with various kinds of behavior disorders and psychological problems than father absence due to fathers' death. Some data indicate that individuals who suffered father-loss through death at an early age are more likely to show symptoms of inhibition, lack of assertiveness, anxiety and depression, but are less likely to have the cognitive, academic and impulse-control problems often found in children of divorced parents.

Father absence, or at least decreased father availability, is a typical concomitant of divorce. There has been a great deal of controversy about the consequence of both divorce and father absence on child development. On one extreme are those who attribute all undesirable affects in fatherless homes simply to father absence; on the other extreme are those who believe that adequate financial and emotional support of single mothers will alleviate any of the so-called detrimental effects of father absence and divorce on children. Research reviewed in this paper makes it clear that an understanding of the influence of father absence and divorce on development demands the consideration of many different and complex factors.

Even though children living with their mothers subsequent to a divorce technically may be considered father-absent, there is tremendous variability in the amount of contact they have with their fathers. In some families children whose parents are divorced may never again see their fathers, whereas in other families they may have contact with them on a daily basis and may even spend more time with them than they did prior to the divorce. Many children whose fathers do not live with them spend more time with their fathers than do children in so-called father present families. Recent research has clearly supported the advantages for children of a high level of positive father-child interaction, even when the parents are divorced and the children reside with their mothers. Observations of shared and joint custody arrangements also indicate the advantages of high father involvement, as well as mother involvement, post-divorce.

Different types of paternal deprivation at different age periods may not affect the same dimensions of psychological functioning. It should be noted that several investigators have reported salutory efffects of step-fathers for young children. There is other evidence, however, indicating the liklihood of considerable conflict when children acquire a step-father in preadolescence or adolescence. There is a great need for researchers to take a longitudinal, life-span perspective in examining the interactions of biological-constitutional, family and sociocultural factors if we are to understand the varied impact of father absence and paternal deprivation.

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[Professor Biller submitted the following chapters which are on file in the offices of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families:

[Biller, H. B., Fatherhood: Implications for Child and Adult Development appearing in B. Wolman (Ed.), "Handbook of Developmental Psychology," Englewood Cliffs, N.J.; Prentice-Hall, 1982.

[——— Father Absence, Divorce, and Development appearing in M. E. Lamb (Ed.), "The Role of the Father in Child Development," (2d ed.), New York, John Wiley, 1981.]

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very, very much. We really appreciate your being here with your helper.

Dr. Lamb, we welcome you, and we will be happy to hear from you this morning. Again, we will put the entire statements in the record, and if you want to just summarize your testimony that would be fine.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL E. LAMB, PH.D., PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY, PSYCHIATRY AND PEDIATRICS, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

Mr. LAMB. I will do my best. Thank you, Congresswoman Schroeder.

I want to summarize the issue around nine general issues that have to do with fathers and their effects on children. The first has to do with how much fathers actually do with their children.

On average, fathers in two-parent families spend about a third as much time as mothers do actually interacting with their children and about half as much time as mothers do being available to them. Fathers are relatively more involved where mothers are employed or when children are older. The biggest discrepancy between mothers and fathers is the area of parental responsibility; that is, in day-to-day decisionmaking. However, recent surveys suggest that the degree of paternal interaction, accessibility, and probably responsibility have significantly increased in the last 15 years.

The second issue has to do with how well fathers perform as parents. Here the evidence suggests that with the exception of pregnancy, parturition, and lactation, there is no reason to believe that men are inherently less capable of child care than women are, although their potential skills often remained underdeveloped.

Third, do mothers and fathers behave differently with their children? Again, as Dr. Yogman reported earlier, studies show that mothers tend to be identified with caretaking, nurturance and the day-to-day business of child care, whereas fathers are associated with playful, social, physical interaction.

This playful nature of father-child interaction may help children to establish attachments to their fathers, which most seem to do even though they spent much less time with them than with their mothers. Beyond this, however, we do not know what importance

these differences between maternal and paternal interaction styles have.

The fourth issue has to do with the effects of fathers on their children's development. As Dr. Biller reported, there is now fairly persuasive evidence that when fathers have close, positive relationships with their children. Children, especially boys, tend to have higher achievement, motivation, and cognitive competence, better social skills, better psychological adjustment and, at least when these characteristics are valued, more sex-stereotyped sex-role attributions.

Close father-daughter relationships may retard achievement in girls, presumably because their father's ambivalence about female roles and aspirations is more salient when the relationship is close.

It is noteworthy, I think, that the formatively important characteristics of father-child relationships are similar to the formatively significant aspects of mother-child relationships. In other words, the parent's gender seems to be relatively unimportant.

Fifth: how do we interpret these effects? Fathers influence their children in a variety of ways. They serve as models for the children to emulate; they help shape their children's behavior by selectively rewarding and punishing their behavior; they provide emotional support to help their wives in the roles of model and teacher; and along with their wives they provide models of heterosexual interaction and relationships.

In each case the emotional quality of the relationship and of the family more generally is extremely important. People are more likely to heed or identify with people they like, respect, and feel close to. The mother's performance is facilitated when their husbands are supportive, and parents model desirable relationships when the relationship is a good one.

The key point is that we cannot say how important each of these modes of influence is, and because the various desirable characteristics tend to go together, I do not think it is fruitful to try to work out how important each of them is.

The sixth point has to do with the effects of father absence on children. As Dr. Biller reported, it appears in general that boys whose fathers are absent, usually due to divorce, tend to manifest problems in the areas of achievement, motivation, school performance, psychosocial adjustment, and heterosexual relationships. They also tend to manifest less stereotypically masculine sex roles and may have difficulties in the areas of self-control and aggression.

The effects seem to be most marked when the father's absence begins early, and at least some effects can be ameliorated by having substitute relationships with males such as stepfathers, grandfathers, and so on. At least in the areas of sex role and achievement, the effects of psychological father absence appear qualitatively similar to, although quantitatively less than, the effects of physical father absence.

The effects of father absence on girls have been less thoroughly studied and appear to be less severe than the effects on boys. Problems in heterosexual relationships may emerge in adolescence even though, as in boys, the effects again are more severe when father absence began earlier.

The fact that father absence has more severe effects on boys may mean that they need a male parent more than girls do, or it may simply mean that boys, as we know from various other areas, are more adversely affected by almost any traumatic experience throughout the lifespan.

The key point here is that father absence does not have enduring effects on psychological functioning in all or perhaps even in most cases. Rather, the effects seem to vary dramatically from family to family in both intensity and character.

The seventh issue is: How do we interpret or understand the effects of father absence. Too often we assume that the effects of father absence should be attributed to the lack of a male role model in the family. Actually, it is clear that a variety of factors are important in mediating the effects of father absence on children. Among these factors are the absence of a close male parent figure, the absence of a second parent to back up or relieve the mother, financial stress, social and emotional isolation and stress, the number of role transitions forced simultaneously on the mother, the amount of marital conflict before father absence begins or after it begins, the amount and quality of relationships with both parents both before and after father absence, the mother's and others' perceptions of the absent father and the circumstances that led to his absence, and the child's age, sibling status, and temperament.

Because so many factors mediate the effects of father absence on children, no single intervention strategy is likely to prove effective in ameliorating these effects. At this point we cannot assess the relative importance of these different factors.

Let me turn now from father absence to increased paternal involvement. As I mentioned earlier, there is some evidence that within traditional families, children tend to benefit from high paternal involvement and to suffer from low paternal availability and involvement. Recent studies show that even more extensive benefits in the areas of cognitive competence, empathy, achievement motivation, and sex role flexibility accrue when fathers are so involved in child care that they share equally in or primarily are responsible for this child care.

These effects are probably due not to paternal involvement in itself but to a constellation of factors, including two highly involved parents, compatible employment contexts, high parental agreement about the ways in which child care should be divided, low marital conflict, and sets of values that antedate and facilitate the paternal involvement.

What these studies suggest, I think, is that children do best when parents are able to divide child-care responsibilites in accordance with their values, preferences, and socioeconomic circumstances rather than in conformity with societal dictates that give them no choice.

In sum, what I have tried to say today is that it is impossible to identify paternal effects, or the effects of father absence or the effects of increased paternal involvement without considering the familial, marital, and socioeconomic circumstances.

Fathers, like mothers, are part of a complex system within which children are socialized, and their role in socialization has to be

viewed in this context. This has critical implications, I think, not only for researchers like myself, but for policymakers like you who are concerned about children, families, and fathers.

Thank you for your attention.

[Prepared statement of Michael E. Lamb follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHAEL E. LAMB, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY, PSYCHIATRY, AND PEDIATRICS, ADJUNCT PROFESSOR OF FAMILY AND CONSUMER STUDIES, DIRECTOR OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM IN DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH, CODIRECTOR—THE FATHERHOOD PROJECT

In this brief statement, I can only summarize our current understanding of father-child relationships and the effects which fathers have on their children's development. More detailed discussions of the literature and its limitations can be found in several recent volumes and chapters.[1] For clarity, I have organized my remarks around nine central issues relevant to the Committee's deliberations.

1. HOW MUCH DO FATHERS REALLY DO WITH THEIR CHILDREN

Judging from the popular literature, contemporary fathers are considered by some to be highly active in their children's lives, and by others to be irresponsible, nearly invisible, parents. The truth lies somewhere between these extremes. The average father in a two-parent family appears to spend between 15 and 90 minutes per day actually interacting with his children, and is available to his children between 100 and 240 minutes per day. The wide variation in these estimates is due to differences in procedure, definition, and sampling. Fortunately the variability from study to study is much less if we express the extent of paternal involvement as a proportion of maternal involvement. On average, fathers spend about a third as much time as mothers do actually interacting with their children, and about half as much time as mothers do being available to their children. Fathers are relatively more involved when mothers are employed and when children are older. The biggest discrepancy between mothers and fathers is in the area of parental responsibility (i.e. in where "the buck stops"). Recent surveys suggest that the degree of parental interaction, accessiblity, and probably responsibility have significantly increased in the last 15 years.

2. HOW WELL DO FATHERS PERFORM AS PARENTS

Most of the evidence on this score from two sources: studies of parental sensitivity/responsiveness to infants, and largely anecodotal studies of single fathers. The first group of studies reveal that fathers can be quite as sensitive or competent as mothers are in relation to young infants, although they tend to yield responsibility to their spouses and presumably (through lack of practice) become less skilled than their spouses. Studies of single fathers reveal, as we would predict, that most fathers can regain parenting skills when these are needed. With the exception of pregnancy, parturition, and lactation, there is no reason to believe that men are inherently less capable of child care than women, although these potential skills often remain undeveloped or underdeveloped.

3. DO MOTHERS AND FATHERS BEHAVE DIFFERENTLY WITH THEIR CHILDREN

Studies confirm the everyday observation that mothers tend to be identified with caretaking, nurturance, and the day-to-day business of childrearing, whereas fathers become associated with playful social and physical interaction. At least in the U.S., the distinctive playful style is characteristic of father-child interactions from early infancy. Some of these differences disappear when fathers and mothers reverse pa-

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rental roles, and some are not evident in other cultures. The playful stimulating nature of father-child interaction may help children to establish attachments to their fathers—which most seem to do—even though they spend much less time together than mothers and children do. Beyond this speculation, however, we do not know whether these differences between maternal and paternal behavioral styles have any formative significance.

4. WHAT EFFECTS DO FATHERS HAVE ON THEIR CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT

There is now fairly persuasive evidence that when fathers have close, positive relationships with their children, children tend to evidence higher achievement motivation and cognitive competence, better social skills (eg., in heterosexual relationships), better psychological adjustment, and (at least when these characteristics are valued) more sex-stereotyped sex-role attributions. Of course, because many father-child relationships are not close positive ones, paternal influences in these areas are often negative rather than positive. It is noteworthy that the formatively important characteristics of father-child relationships are similar to the formatively significant aspects of mother-child relations and that the parents' gender seems relatively unimportant. Effects on moral development (including delinquency in cases of poor father-child relationships) have not been well established. Close father-daughter relationships may retard achievement in girls, presumably because the fathers' ambivalence about female roles and aspirations is more salient when the relationship is close.

5. TO WHAT CAN THESE EFFECTS BE ATTRIBUTED

Fathers influence their children in a variety of ways. Fathers serve as models for their children to emulate, they help shape their children's behavior by selectively rewarding and punishing children, they provide emotional support to help their wives in the roles of model and teacher, and along with their wives they provide models of heterosexual interactions and relationships. In each of these modes of influence, the emotional quality of each relationship and of the family more generally is extremely important: people are more likely to heed or imitate (identify with) people they like, respect, and feel close to; the mothers' performance is facilitated when their husbands are supportive; and of course the parents model desirable heterosexual relationship strategies when the relationship is a good one. We cannot say how important each of these modes of influence is, and because the various desirable characteristics tend to go together, it is not really fruitful to attempt to assess their relative importance.

6. WHAT EFFECTS DOES FATHER ABSENCE HAVE ON CHILDREN

This question has been the focus of many research projects, but due largely to the poor selection of comparison groups, the majority of studies yield uninterpretable results. In general, however, it appears that boys whose fathers are absent (usually due to divorce) tend to manifest problems in the areas of achievement motivation, school performance, psychosocial adjustment, and heterosexual relationships. They also tend to manifest less stereotypically masculine sex roles and may have difficulties in the areas of self control and aggression. The effects seem to be most marked when the father absence begins early (first 3 to 5 years) in the children's life, and at least some effects can be ameliorated by the availability of enduring substitute relationships with males such as stepfathers, grandfathers, and older brothers. At least in the areas of sex role and achievement, the effects of psychological father absence appear qualitatively similar to, but quantitatively less than, the effects of physical father absence.

The effects of father absence on girls have been less thoroughly studied, but appear to be less severe than the effects on boys. Problems in heterosexual relationships may emerge in adolescence, even though, as in boys, effects are more severe when father absence begins early. Among both boys and girls, father absence is associated with a reversal of the usual pattern of intellectual performance, in terms of which boys usually have better quantitative/spatial than verbal skills, whereas girls have better verbal than quantitative skills. The fact that father absence has more severe effects on boys may mean that they "need" a father—as a same-sex model—more than girls do, or it could simply confirm once again that boys are more adversely affected by traumatic events than girls are throughout the life span.

It is important to note that father absence does not have enduring effects on psychological functioning in all or perhaps even most cases. Rather, the effects seem to vary in intensity and character.

7. TO WHAT SHOULD THE EFFECTS OF FATHER ABSENCE BE ATTRIBUTED

It is too often assumed that the effects of father absence on children should be attributed to the absence of a male role model. If this were the only important factor, we would expect great consistency in the effects observed, rather than the variability and diversity that is found. Among the factors that appear important in mediating the effects of father absence on children are the following:

1. The absence of a close male parent figure.
2. The absence of a second parent to back up or relieve the mother on occasion.
3. Financial stress experienced by the mother.
4. Social/emotional isolation and stress experienced by the mother.
5. The number of role transitions forced simultaneously on the mother (eg., children do better when their mothers were employed before divorce, instead of becoming employees and single parents at the same time).
6. The amount of marital conflict before father absence begins.
7. The amount and quality of relationships with both parents following the onset of "father absence".
8. The mother's and others' perceptions of the absent father and the circumstances that led to his absence (i.e., the war widow may have a very different status than the divorcee). There may also be ethnic and religious variations in the perception of father absence.
9. The child's age and sibling status.

Because so many factors mediate the effects of father absence on children, no single intervention strategy is likely to prove effective in ameliorating the effects. We cannot currently assess the relative formative importance or ameliorative value of these factors.

8. WHAT EFFECTS DOES INCREASED PATERNAL INVOLVEMENT HAVE

As mentioned earlier, there is some evidence that within traditional (mother as caretaker, father as breadwinner) families, children tend to benefit from high paternal involvement and to suffer from low paternal availability and involvement. Recent studies show that even more extensive benefits—in the areas of cognitive competence, empathy, achievement motivation, and sex role flexibility—accrue when fathers are so involved in childcare that they share equally in or are primarily responsible for childcare. These effects are probably due, not to paternal involvement per se, but to a constellation of factors including two highly involved parents, compatible employment contexts, high parental agreement about the ways in which childcare should be divided, low marital conflict, and sets of values that antedate and facilitate the paternal involvement. What these studies suggest, I believe, is that children do best when parents are able to divide childcare responsibilities in accordance with their values, preferences, and socioeconomic circumstances, rather than in conformity with societal dictates which allow them no choice. In other words, families need options, not mandates which either proscribe or prescribe paternal involvement in childcare.

9. SUMMARY

I have tried to show why it is impossible to identify paternal effects, the effects of father absence, or the effects of increased paternal involvement without considering the familial, marital, and socioeconomic circumstances. Fathers—like mothers—constitute an important part of a complex system within which children are socialized, and their role in socialization has to be viewed in the context of this system. This has critical implications, not only for theorists and researchers, but also for policymakers concerned about children, families, and/or fathers.Unfortunately, there is no "magic bullet" where childrearing is concerned.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you, Dr. Lamb, for some excellent testimony.

And now we move to Dr. McAdoo. We are very happy to have you. The floor is yours.

STATEMENT OF JOHN L. McADOO, PH.D., ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK AND COMMUNITY PLANNING, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, BALTIMORE, MD.

Mr. McADOO. Congresswoman Schroeder, Representative Coats and members of the Task Force on Economic Security, I would like to take this opportunity to share some of the findings of a study that I have been conducting on the role of fathers in the development of their children. This study has some importance to the deliberations of this committee as it is one of the very few studies that have focused on the patterns of interaction between black fathers and their children in economically secure homes.

The present study focuses on the relationship between economically secure fathers and their preschool children. Since the child development literature seems to have ignored the interaction patterns of the economically secure black father and focus upon the most economically deficient, socially vulnerable and most problematic black family, it is felt that the findings will be useful and provide important information in helping you to serve all black fathers and their families.

The fathers in this study are different from the stereotypically held view of black fathers being absent from the home. Fathers are often seen as only being interested in being providers and not interested in parenting activities.

The fathers in this study are seldom studied and are an often maligned group. They represent the 50 percent of black males in this country who remain in their homes with their wives and children.

The observations regarding this sample of black fathers will be related to: One, the fathers' reports of their child-rearing attitudes; two, the predominant type of interaction patterns observed between these fathers and their preschool children; three, the child's self-esteem; four, the child's view of how their parents, especially fathers, value them; and five, implications that can be drawn from these observations for policy decisions related to the necessity of helping all fathers achieve economic security.

Child-rearing patterns. The fathers in this study were asked several questions related to their attitudes toward child rearing. Over 70 percent of these fathers reported that they shared any major child-rearing decisions with their wives. They reported that the child's needs came before their own, and they expected their child to be good, and they most frequently rewarded their children for independent and assertive behavior. Their rewards were in the form of verbal praise and gifts.

The fathers also reported that they took part in the disciplining of their children. They portrayed themselves as being moderately strict with their children. In the home and at school their children were expected to obey the rules. And they reported, as a result of these expectations, they had very little problem with temper tantrums from their children.

Now, since both parents in the study were employed, the fathers reported sharing some of the child-rearing tasks with their wives. All of the fathers expressed some concern about the future of their children and expressed the belief that their children should be as

educated as possible to take part in society. In short, the child-rearing values that these men hold and express are solid, basic American values.

During the study we observed the fathers' verbal and nonverbal behavior with their children. The verbal behavior was recorded on a tape recorder, and the nonverbal behavior was recorded by the observer on the interview. This interview lasted 2 hours, and it was designed to make sure that the father had to have some kind of interaction with the child within the home.

Now, the literature on parent-child interaction patterns has indicated that there are two types of interaction patterns that occur in American families: nurturance and restrictiveness.

Nurturance has been described as the expression of warmth and positive feelings towards the attitudes and behavior of the child. Restrictiveness was described as the opposite of nurturance, as an expression of coldness and a negative reaction to the child's attitudes and behavior.

The literature on father-child interaction patterns suggests that nurturant fathers have children who will do well in school. Restrictive fathers, on the other hand, have children who do poorly in school. There appears to be little research on the patterns of interaction and the way the child feels about himself, and therefore, this research is doubly important.

The most typical type of behavior exhibited by the fathers in this study was nurturance. Over 75 percent of the fathers were warm and loving in their behavior with their children, much as you saw my colleague with his child today. When they had to control their child's behavior, they usually did it in a positive way and gave the children reasons for their actions. Twenty-five percent of the fathers in this sample were more strict in their verbal control of their child's behavior. These restrictive fathers were less patient with their child's expressed needs and assertive behavior.

The children in this study whose fathers were warm and loving seemed to be content to be in the room during the interview situation and exhibited little need for attention. The children of restrictive fathers, on the other hand, were more likely to be restless and demand attention from their fathers. Those children who made a large number of demands for attention received more controlling and negative responses from their fathers.

Now, after observing the parent-child relationship within the home, we then interviewed the children separately to determine their feelings about their self-worth and to determine how they believed their parents, teachers, and peers valued them.

All of the children from the economically secure homes felt good about themselves. Children whose fathers were nurturant in their relationships had the highest self-esteem. They also felt that their fathers, mothers, teachers, and peers valued them highly as persons. Children with high self-esteems had fathers and mothers who were both nuturant. In the sample the fathers and mothers were both warm and loving toward them.

While the mother was seen as the person who directly influenced the child's positive self-image, it was the father's nurturance of the mother that most influenced her positive relationship with the child.

The data from this study are suggestive of certain policy needs. We have been able to demonstrate that economically secure black fathers can and do play a positive role in the socialization of their children. It must be remembered also that for most black families, economic security appears to be maintained by both parents working.

We believe that economic security is the foundation upon which the positive growth and stability of the family depends. Economic security appears to play a more positive role in the successful child-rearing activities within black families. Economic security may allow the father enough social and psychological freedom to take part in the socialization of his children.

These fathers in this sample certainly felt good about their children's development, and their children also felt good about themselves and the relationship that they had been able to develop with their fathers.

The children in that sample seemed to be developing as well as children of other ethnic groups and economically secure environments.

We must conclude with this note of caution. More research is needed on the impact of economic security on the lives of black fathers and their children. We need to observe a greater range of fathers in order to better understand how he is able to adjust to the economic stresses and pressures and the role he plays in the development of his children.

For those that need to have economic security in their families, there are no easy answers. Any effort to help these fathers should include long-range planning and commitment of public and private resources. These efforts should be directed toward helping economically insecure fathers move into the mainstream of employment and the social system. Economically insecure black fathers need to be trained and nurtured into the mainstream of economically secure employment. We need to help economically insecure fathers gain a sense of value and worth in themselves. They need a stake in this society that they can communicate to their children.

Legislation should facilitate some social and emotional supports for these fathers during their training and should help them in making the transition to a more secure economic status.

I would like to thank you, Madam Chairman, for inviting me to present remarks today, and I hope they will be helpful in your future deliberations on economic security in the family.

[Prepared statement of John L. McAdoo, Ph.D. follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN L. MCADOO, PH.D., ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK AND COMMUNITY PLANNING, BALTIMORE, MD.

Congresswoman Schroeder and members of the Task Force on Economic Security, I would like to take this opportunity to share some of the findings of a study that I have been conducting on the role of fathers and the development of their children. This study has some importance to the deliberations of this Committee as it is one of the very few studies that have focused on the patterns of interaction between Black fathers and their children in economically secure homes.

Since the child development literature seems to have ignored the interaction patterns of the economically secure Black fathers and focused only upon the most economically deficient, socially vulnerable, most problematic Black family, it is felt that the findings will provide important information that will be used in serving all Black fathers.

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The fathers in this study are different from the stereotypically held view of Black fathers being absent from the home. Fathers are often seen as only interested in being providers and not interested in parenting activities. The fathers in this study are seldom studied and are an often maligned group. They represent the 50 percent of Black males in this country who remain in their own homes with their wives and children.

The observations regarding this sample of Black fathers will be related to: 1) the fathers' reports of their child-rearing attitudes; 2) the predominate type of interaction patterns observed between these fathers and their preschool children; 3) the child's self esteem; 4) the child's view of how their parents value them; and 5) implications that can be drawn from these observations for policy decisions related to the necessity of helping all fathers achieve economic security.

CHILD-REARING ATTITUDES

The fathers in this study were asked several questions related to their attitude towards child rearing. Over 70 percent of these fathers reported that they shared in the major child-rearing decisions with their wives. They reported that their child's needs came before their own. They expected their child to be good and they most frequently rewarded their child for independent and assertive behavior. Their rewards were in the form of verbal praise and gifts.

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Since both parents in this study were employed, the fathers reported sharing some of the child-rearing tasks with their wives. All of the fathers expressed concern about the future of their children and expressed the belief that their child should be as educated as possible to take part in society.

PARENT-CHILD INTERACTION PATTERNS

During this study we observed the fathers' verbal and nonverbal behavior with their children. The verbal behavior was recorded on a tape recorder and the nonverbal behavior was recorded by the observer on the interview at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the interview. The interview lasted two hours.

The literature on parent-child interaction patterns has indicated that there are two types of interaction patterns, nurturance and restrictiveness that occurs in families. Nurturance has been described as the expression of warmth and positive feelings towards the attitudes and behavior of the child. Restrictiveness was described as the opposite of nurturance, as an expression of coldness and a negative expression of the child's attitudes and behavior. The literature on father-child interaction patterns suggests that nurturant fathers have children who will do well in school. Restrictive fathers have children who do poorly in school.

The most typical type of behavior exhibited by the fathers in this study was nurturance. Over 75 percent of the fathers were warm and loving in their behavior with their children. When they had to control their child's behavior they usually did it in a positive way and gave the children reasons for their actions. Twenty-five percent of the fathers were more strict in their verbal control of their child's behavior. These restrictive fathers were less patient with their children's expressed needs and assertive behavior.

CHILD'S SELF-ESTEEM AND PARENTAL VALUE

The children in this study whose fathers were warm and loving seemed to be content to be in the room during the interview and exhibited little need for attention. The children of restrictive fathers were more likely to be restless and demand attention from their fathers. Children who made a large number of demands for attention received more controlling and negative responses from their fathers.

The relationship between paternal nurturance and self-esteem was found to be a complicated one. Children with high self-esteems had nurturing fathers and mothers. These fathers were nurturing towards the mothers and the mothers were then able to positively influence their child's self-esteem. The father had an indirect influence on his child's self-esteem.

After observing the parent-child relationship to one another, we then interviewed the children separately regarding their feelings about their self worth and how they saw significant others valuing them. The children in this sample felt very good

about themselves. They also felt that their mother, father, teacher and peers valued them highly.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

The data from this study are suggestive of certain policy needs. We have been able to demonstrate that economically secure Black fathers can and do play a positive role in the socialization of their children. It must be remembered also that for most Black families economic security appears to be maintained by both parents working. We believe that economic security is the foundation upon which the positive growth and stability of the family depends.

Economic security or sufficiency may play a greater role in parent-child relationships than we have given it credit in the past. Economic sufficiency of the family may allow the Black father enough psychological and social freedom to positively influence the development of his child.

The Committee should consider developing policies that will encourage private and public industries to develop education and training programs that will help those Black fathers who are unemployed or underemployed to better support their families. We need to help them gain a sense of value and worth in themselves. They need a stake in this society that they can communicate to their children. Legislation should facilitate some social and emotional supports to these fathers during their training and should help them in making the transition to a more secure economic status.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. On behalf of the committee, I want to thank both panel 1 and panel 3. I think all the testimony here has been absolutely superb. It has forced all of us to think about things that we have not thought enough about, and it has been marvelous.

I want to especially thank you for being so patient and waiting while we heard from earlier witnesses.

Dr. Yogman, if I can start with you. You hit a very sensitive nerve when you used a phrase I have not heard of before when you referred to the mother as the gatekeeper to the child. I found in my own relationship that started to happen through language. I became the child's interpreter when they first started communicating. Since I was there all day, I understood, so I started being the interpreter. I had to catch myself on that.

Have there been any studies about when this starts to happen? Your movie was very touching with the small baby and the father. When does that gatekeeper role begin?

Dr. YOGMAN. I think it starts right at birth. In fact, I would argue that in some ways the emotional relationship between parents and the baby starts before birth, and I think the mother's role as a gatekeeper starts right in the beginning as soon as she learns she is pregnant.

I think that this issue of the family working together and families having a chance to sort out whatever competitive feelings are generated by the birth of a new baby is a very important issue.

I have often seen nursing mothers' attempts to breastfeed their babies be undermined by the competitive feelings of the father about being excluded from the baby. So I think these are important issues. I think they start right from birth or before birth. And I think that in a sense to the degree that both parents feel backed up and supported in their own unique roles, which I would argue are somewhat complementary and not redundant, that we can do our part at lessening those competitive feelings.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I think that we cannot say enough about that, because most people do not realize that. When you talk about the gatekeeper, it crystallizes the power that one parent has, which we

hope they utilize properly. But there could be a way to utilize it improperly very easily.

I also think there is another problem with the time constraints. If I can mention a personal thing, I can remember my husband coming home late at night wanting us to go wake up the kids. My response was "over my dead body."

I think that the timing of the job has an incredible impact on young men, in particular. I do not know what we do about that. I guess we hope that more people like you will talk to corporate America, military America, and everyone else to help them understand the importance of father involvement. That creates some of the competition and some of the problems at home.

Dr. YOGMAN. I think it is critical, and I think that there are small things that the Congress can do; but I think that the private sector also has to realize, and I think they are starting to realize that it is in their own best interest in terms of productivity of the work force, stability of the work force to begin to address these issues of family life.

I know that AT&T was concerned about men calling home at 3 in the afternoon, and they found that productivity was going down. I think that kind of concern requires a response that acknowledges that those are real needs that their employees have and that they are going to benefit in the long run if they find ways of channeling those needs productively.

The committee's response—simple things like tax incentives to the private sector for even very short-term paid parental leave—and I am talking on the order even of 7 to 10 days here around the birth of a new infant—I think symbolically carries a great deal of weight for fathers and for mothers that validates the importance of the father's support during that period.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. And it says something about our society's values.

Dr. Wilson, one of the things I often hear from men in the private sector who have tried to do something about day care is that they are constantly put down. They are told that the company is a business organization and therefore cannot be taking care of kids. But, if they walk in the next day and suggest having a physical fitness center, the company thinks it is terrific. It seems that we are dealing with either a mind set or the lack of rewards in our society for men who want to be a good father.

How do we deal with that?

Dr. WILSON. I do not really consider myself an expert on day care. The main thing, I think, is the encouragement of good family life. And certainly there is no question that the extended family always served as a day-care center in the past. In my own childhood I remember being taken care of by great-aunts and grandmothers and people like that. In our own family we have five children, and we serve as the day-care center primarily for our grandchildren at the moment for those who live close to it.

There is no question that we need that, and certainly industry should be encouraged in light of the change in the work force to take an interest in it.

I am always rather interested in the concept of wellness. I hope people do not think of wellness as just being physically fit. I heard

the general say that. He did not talk about the psychological fitness of the people and meeting their needs.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I was not talking about day care, per se, but the psychological, incentives not to bring up child care issues, because it might damage your career. You mentioned that when you look at wellness, you tend to look at physical health rather than the psychiatric part of it. How do we break through some of these bugaboos that are operating in society?

Dr. WILSON. Well, I think the evidence is overwhelming that working mothers are not a deleterious influence in the child's life. That is well documented in the literature. So one of the things that I think we need is to ask if we can help people to see the reality that obviously going to have to have day-care centers for the smaller children, and the schools then become the day-care centers for the older children if we have a large female work force.

I do not know how to change people's minds. I am in the business of trying to be a persuader, of trying to help people change, but I do that on a 1-to-1 basis. Sometimes I do it in a larger group. But it seems to me there are institutions within our society who can be highly persuasive. They are usually not the Congress, and they are usually not others. They can persuade by law, by coercion. But the persuasion comes through moral forces and moral institutions in our society, and it seems to me they are our best bet—not only for wellness but—wellness in the physical sense but also wellness in the psychological sense and for family wellness.

One of the things that is happening across America is of course the movements within churches toward better family life and family education programs, and that is having a profound effect on the country nationally—at least those people who attend church. And since about 40 percent of Americans do, at least we are reaching 40 percent of the American public.

That does not lead us, though, into the group of people who are not accessible to that kind of educational program, and I really do not have any suggestions beyond that.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you.

Congressman Coats.

Mr. COATS. Thank you.

Dr. Wilson, your testimony talked about the fact that children of divorce tend to turn away from marriage as a satisfactory mode of human relationship. Do you have any empirical numbers you can give us, or studies you have conducted, or are aware of that indicate the incidence of divorce leading to divorce in the next generation? Do we know the link here and statistically what we are talking about?

Dr. WILSON. I really do not have any data. That statement was taken from a man named Anthony who is an outstanding expert in the field of children at risk psychiatrically. But it is a fairly high risk or increase in risk of unsatisfactory marriages in the children, and about 50 percent, I think, would probably hit it. Somewhere in my memory it is about equal to the number of alcoholic children of alcoholic fathers; that half of the sons of alcoholic fathers become alcoholics, and about half of the kids who come from broken homes end up with a broken home fairly promptly after they contract their first marriage.

Maybe some of the other people on the panel have better statistics on it than I do.

Mr. COATS. I am open to other comments.

Dr. YOGMAN. I would like to speak to the whole issue of divorce and single parenthood, because I do think I have a different perspective on it than Dr. Wilson, as a pediatrician seeing a very wide range of families, perhaps less stressed than those referred for psychiatric services.

I think there is no doubt that divorce is a terrible tragedy for any family for everyone involved, children as well as parents. But I think that—and the stress is certainly there both during and after the divorce—but I think it is important to point out that seeing a wide range of families I also see a large number of families—in fact, the majority of families—who can and do cope quite well with the stress of divorce, and I see single parents who do an excellent job of raising their children, whether it be single mothers or, in a small number of cases, single fathers.

The point I am making is that I think the small number of problem families I end up seeing are the families that I do refer to child psychiatrists or adult psychiatrists, and I think we tend to see a different view of the world; and I think it is important to bear that in mind.

The research—and there has been an increasing amount of research on the effect of divorce on children and the effects of single parenting in the past 10 years—and I think the most elegant research that I can refer you to is a series of studies by Dr. Mavis Hetherington, which suggests that there is a transitional period for children during about a year to a year and a half after a divorce during which period families, most frequently mother who usually gets custody and child, are reorganizing.

What Dr. Hetherington she has also suggested is that while it is a much tougher job for a single parent to rear children, that there are some supports we know about, predictors and supports that help those parents cope and help those parents do a better job.

And I think probably the most critical one is economic support. We know that for single-parent families poverty is a major risk factor for poor outcomes after divorce.

I think second of all, as Dr. Wilson has alluded to, the kinds of psychological and educational supports for those families are also critical. And so I think that congressional programs, Federal programs like health-care benefits, medicaid programs, WIC, food stamps, become very important in minimizing the ongoing stresses that these families face after the tragedy of a divorce.

Mr. COATS. Thank you.

Dr. Lamb, your statement indicates here that the average father in a two-parent family appears to spend between 15 and 90 minutes per day actually interacting with his children and is available between 100 and 240 minutes a day. That is a much greater period of time, availability, and interaction than I was previously aware of.

It seems to me that one of the witnesses we had in the earlier hearing presented some statistics from a study done by Dr. Bronfenbrenner that indicated a much more severe limitation on the time of interaction between father and children.

Would you want to comment on that?

Mr. LAMB. I mentioned those figures specifically in my testimony because there are two beliefs around about how much fathers are involved. On the one hand, we have a growing fatherhood hype which describes fathers as doing an enormous amount with their children; and on the other hand, we have people who say that fathers are not doing a thing with their children. And the truth is somewhere in the middle.

The figures that I cited are drawn from national surveys for the most part. I do not know the specific data you are referring to. The most recent Bronfenbrenner study is one which draws exclusively from Syracuse, so it is a much more restricted sample, and that may be why the figures differ.

There is an enormous variability in the actual numbers across studies. As I suggested in my written testimony, what is striking is that there is remarkable consistency when you look at relative numbers; that is, how much fathers are doing relative to the amount that mothers are doing in the same circumstances. And I think, therefore, a lot of the variability is due to the way people are defining father involvement. Some people define it much more restrictively than others, so the figures are going to be smaller. Some define it more liberally, and so the figures are larger.

Mr. COATS. Well, we know that Dr. Biller has probably skewed the results because of his involvement with his child, which was very touching, Dr. Biller, and very interesting to all of us to see how you have combined your work and the parenting. I commend you for whatever you are providing your child to allow him to participate in this hearing without bringing down the house as mine would.

Thank you for the time, Madam Chairman.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you.

Congressman Marriott, do you have any questions?

Mr. MARRIOTT. Thank you very much. I apologize for being in and out of this hearing, but I have two other hearings I am involved in, and I wanted to come back and question the witnesses just briefly.

I wanted to ask Dr. Lamb, and also Dr. Wilson if you would care to comment, about the statistics that are out now, if there are any, that would indicate that there is any bigger problem for families where the father has left by divorce, as opposed to whether he left to serve in Congress, or left to join the military, or just had a job that took him away from the house or was one of those people who only spends 15 minutes a day interacting with the kids.

Can you comment, maybe starting with Dr. Lamb, about the impact of divorce as opposed to other reasons for being absent?

Mr. LAMB. There is relatively little evidence suggesting specifically what the differences are. However, I think there is a growing consensus that the effects of father absence do vary a great deal depending on a number of attitudinal and circumstantial factors.

The father who has left through divorce provides less income to the family than the one who has gone to Congress. The one who has gone to Congress is still an economic support to the family and still has a status within the family, and the relationship with the spouse is presumably a more positive one than in the case where there has been a divorce.

All of those circumstantial factors will make a difference in the way in which the absence is reacted to by children. As I suggested, we need to consider not only whether or not father is there, but when he is there what he is really doing, the nature of the relationship with the spouse, if there has been a divorce what it was like before the divorce as well as subsequent to that, how much opportunity and involvement the father has with the children both before and after the changed circumstances. All of those factors really make a difference in understanding the effects on children.

Dr. Biller may have comments on this as well.

Mr. MARRIOTT. One other thing, just to tell you my concern. I keep reading statistics that 52 percent of all marriages end in divorce, and if you marry again, the chances are 38 or 40 percent that that will end in divorce as well. So we have got a lot of kids out there running around, 14 million of them, living with 1 parent.

Now, other than the fact that most of them wind up in poverty, which is a growing phenomenon among single-parent families, are there any problems, other than the poverty that they are faced with? How does divorce affect children and their value systems?

Mr. LAMB. I think it is very hard to separate it from the poverty, because many of the problems that one sees in those cases may be directly related to the impoverished circumstances that the family is subjected to as a result of the divorce.

Mr. MARRIOTT. For example, we say that when the father is gone—and I am assuming mostly from divorce—that the house lacks stability, or in many cases stability is decreased. Dr. Wilson, you said value judgments change. Kids have lower self-esteem. They are more likely to get in trouble with the law. They might drop out of school faster. They do not have the role model. They do not feel as good about themselves. They are angry.

Is this just a product of divorce or a product of separation in general?

Mr. BILLER. We have not looked with any depth at the effects of specific occupations on fathering. However, putting together data from various studies leads to the conclusion that, as Dr. Lamb noted, you have to look at both the quality and quantity of interaction between the father and the child. Some research reveals that fathers who are almost always at home but have very little in my direct way to do with their children have children who are likely to have fairly serious problems in terms of self-esteem and interpersonal adjustment.

On the other hand, some data suggest that fathers who are potentially very nurturant and very warm but we hardly ever home or with their children are also likely to have children who are insecure and anxious. Such fathers may show up once in a while and take the child on a fantastic outing but the child does not know when the father is going to be back again, and the child goes through a cycle of disappointment and uncertainly. The child who has a highly nurturant father but one who is rarely available tends to question self-adequacy and be very frustrated, to obsess why the father is not more interested in spending time with him. The child may have a very attractive, successful adult for a parent, someone who is esteemed by other people, but that child does not really know that person. That child hears great things about the father

but may develop a lot of insecurity and frustration as to whether he can live up to that parent's image.

Even though economic factors are important and economically disadvantaged children are particularly likely to suffer from the effects of paternal deprivation, we can find children with highly successful parents from very affluent homes who are nontheless paternally deprived. In economically advantaged suburban areas the only male that many children may see is the mailman, or deliveryman. Their fathers are gone from 6 in the morning and they may not be home until 8 at night. Their fathers may or may not eat dinner with them. Many of these children see very little of their fathers and, particuarly, if they are younger children, and they are in nursery school, kindergarten, or early elementary school, they may not see any other men with whom they can interact with on a regular basis.

Both boys and girls need to learn how to relate with adult males. Many children who are paternally deprived become enmeshed in a cycle of difficulty in establishing intimate relationships that continues into adulthood and interferes with the development of a stable family life. The experience of divorce is likely to be a family heirloom that extends into the next generation. Growing up with divorced parents does relate to increased risks in development, although certainly some children who have been subjected to divorce, and broken homes, strive and succeed as adults to have very stable, positive marital and family relationships.

But in a general way there may be a kind of generation-to-generation effect relating to the divorce experience not only in disadvantaged families, but also among the affluent.

Dr. YOGMAN. Can I add one point? That is, I think the emotional state of the custodial parent is a critical variable in answering your question. If the parent who remains the significant caregiver for the child after a divorce is depressed and distraught, I think that is where many of the problems that you are concerned about are going to arise from, because that person really is the nurturing figure for the child. And if that parent is really emotionally unavailable as a consequence of the divorce, I think we can expect problems; and, in fact, those are the families where I see those kinds of difficulties.

How that translates into policies relates to the point I made about changing our reimbursement incentives for health insurance programs so that counseling services are available to those families to get them through that period of crisis.

Dr. WILSON. May I just add one word? I would agree with what has been said, but certainly there is no question that the degree of emotional disturbance in both homes where the families are intact and the father is essentially absent just on a time basis and also in the homes where he is absent and makes a difference, that the enormous problems that the children have. For instance, if you look at the National Institutes of Health study on marihuana and heroin use and that sort of thing, drug addiction, most of their subjects came from high income families, but there was relatively little parenting in that family, and usually the mother was disturbed, the father was disturbed and he was gone all the time. And

that was certainly true of our studies on heroin addicts that we did out at Lexington before they closed the narcotics center out there.

There was an enormous amount of disruption the family and emotional instability in the family whether the fathers were there or absent. And that last comment is probably the most critical one; that the mental health of the caregivers makes an enormous difference in whether the child grows up with terrible scars or whether they grow up with some minor little scratches.

Mr. McADOO. I would just like to add one comment, because I agree with everything; and that is, I think sometimes you have to question the assumption that divorce is bad. I train social work students at the Master's level, and they go into family service agencies, and sometimes the best thing for the emotional stability of that family is for that family to be helped to separate in a way that is the least destructive way possible.

Something happens between two people when they get together, and they just cannot do it. So I think you have to always understand that divorce is not always bad either for the husband, for the wife, for the children or for all people concerned. And I think that we have to allow that kind of position for families, that they may have gotten together for the wrong reasons. You know, we all sometimes like to think that we get married for the movie reasons, and sometimes we forget about that people have deficiencies that they hide, and that they do not share with one another.

So I just wanted to add that to broaden your perspective; that divorce may lead to the stability of the family over time, and after a year's period of time problems could go away under certain circumstances. Certainly we might to talk about making sure that this family is not economically insecure, because we know that economic insecurity causes the instability of these families.

Mr. MARRIOTT. Thank you very much.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very much.

Congressman Wolf.

Mr. WOLF. Thank you. Because of our time problem, I have several questions I will not ask right now.

It seems to me that all of you indicated that an individual can be in the home physically, but not really be there. Sometimes the person comes home from a job at 9 at night, eats dinner out of the microwave oven, and doesn't seem to have anything to offer the family members. Going to bed, getting up, and starting another day becomes a routine.

The study that Mr. Coats referred to, which I have seen, said that the average father spends 37 seconds a day with his infant. These fathers were in the house, doing the things they do, like watching television, but the interaction with their children was negligible.

I don't want to start a debate, but what is your reaction to this?

Mr. LAMB. Could I comment on that study? That is the study with the total of 10 infants. It was done now 15 or 20 years ago. It is a very old study with a very small sample with very limited data in which fathers did not know that these data were going to be used in any way. It was actually a study of the language development of the child. The child had a microphone around its neck through which the paternal vocalizations were recorded. Thus the

data refer only to vocal interaction. And perhaps most important, and the reason why I do not see it as a particularly important study is that the 37-second figure is an arithmetic impossibility given the data in the study.

Mr. WOLF. That may be, and if you have any more information, I would appreciate receiving it.

I believe the chairwoman mentioned the phenomenon regarding machoism and how to be a success under these terms. That is you work, you leave the house before anybody else in the neighborhood is up, you get your paper before anybody, you come into work, you run, you jog, you do your job, you come home at 9. Things like this prove you are really a success along with owning a big Lincoln, or a Cadillac and taking a vacation at Eastertime down in the islands where no one else is.

I believe we are seeing more of this syndrome today. My father was home more—he was a policeman in Philadelphia—than frankly I think I have been home in my current job. I would like to see anything you have on this subject.

I agree with almost everything all of you have said, but all of you have told us—and I do not think you were asked to tell us anything different—what the problem is. I would like to see maybe if each of you can reflect on what you have heard from the others and give your suggestions to the committee or just a letter to me. What do you suggest that we in the Congress do?

Someone suggested we have very little authority. I believe you may be right. This Congress has become irrelevant on many of the issues that are facing the country.

But what do you think this committee can do? I would like to see your proposals or recommendations. And again, I appreciate your time. I think you have all been great, and I appreciate it very much.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you.

Congresswoman Johnson.

Mrs. JOHNSON. I realize we are under severe time constraints now, so I will just make a couple of comments, too, one of which is a question. Is there additional information available on the influence of divorce as a conflict resolution tool and its effect in terms of children of divorced parents?

In other words, one of the things that I have been concerned about is the effect on teenagers particularly of divorce and its message that the problem is unresolvable and you should walk away from it. And it has been my impression and my personal observation from a number of situations in which I have been quite closely involved that it is very difficult then to get these kids in high school to really work for an A rather than a B, to stay involved in an extracurricular activity where there are interpersonal problems. You know, it is hard for them to sort of tough things out.

Is there any documentation of that?

Mr. BILLER. Yes; there is some. You could call what you are talking about sort of a quitting syndrome. The Wallerstein and Kelly research provides the most relevant data from a longitudinal perspective. Wallerstein and Kelly studied families in which the children were at different ages when their parents got divorced, and reported a variety of reactions related to developmental stages.

However, all the children no matter what their age and no matter how badly their parents' marriages were going, seemed to be sad and upset, in their initial reaction to the divorce. Some of them regressed, some of them acted out, and some of them seemed to give up. Although with time many of the children seemed to be able to reorganize their lives.

Generally, if parents have not become divorced before their children have reached adolescence, even though the children will typically have a very severe reaction to the actual divorce, the literature suggests that they may not be as much at risk in their long-term development as are children whose parents became divorced when they were very young. The older child or adolescent may have more of a capacity to understand the divorce and realize that it was not his responsibility.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Excuse me. We have so little time. But if you have information from studies that you would like to send to me, I would be very interested in that, and whether that tool is transferred to other situations.

Then I just want to mention one other thing. Dr. Lamb, in your testimony you conclude by saying: "In other words, families need options, not mandates." And, Dr. Yogman, in your testimony you conclude with the fact that men need to be able to make personal choices regarding fatherhood, and that our goals should be to make it easier to make these choices.

What I hear, and the other thing I wanted to correlate that with, Dr. Yogman, is your analysis of the kinds of things that have an impact—stress and job loss, time, mother's wishes, and a lot of what you have all been saying.

What I hear you saying in the analysis is the working man's problem in developing a sound relationship with their children is precisely the problem a working woman has, so it really is not a matter of the sex; it is a matter of managing conflicting responsibilities and particularly the time impact of those responsibilities.

And I just wonder if—Mr. Wolf was saying do you have any suggestions for what we can do. And outside of covering counseling through health insurance, which I do think is important, it has struck me in the course of these hearings that one of the things we very much need to be doing is to be educating people to make these choices.

And I guess it was you, Dr. Yogman, who brought out now the enormous involvement of fathers in childbirth. You know, why can we not do something like the birthing classes that have worked to get men involved, to use that as a time also to begin talking about parenting, about shared time, about shared resources, and about conflict and divorce, and its impact? You know, where in society should we begin looking to at least provide the materials, at least begin the educating process?

Dr. YOGMAN. I think as soon as possible, prenatally, postpartum, and continuing on, because I think there are different phases of children's needs, different issues that parents are presented with. And I think parents really need the kind of education and support systems that you are talking about.

So I applaud your recommendations. I think they are critical. I think that we even have to go back in time into school systems and

give people—give school-age children a sense of what children and babies are all about. I think, increasingly we are seeing people, not thinking carefully enough about the impact and responsibility of having children. And I think that to the degree that we can help people develop a sense of responsibility and a sense of realistic expectations about the requirements that children place on parents, we will help parents and children get off to a better start. Once that decision is made, I think we can do a lot with regard to education to at least separate the issue of marital stability from the issue of responsibility for children.

Mr. McADOO. Congresswoman Johnson, I would just like to make a comment here. It seems to me that the public sector and the private sector need to take some time out and maybe develop some high-level conference on what kind of society we would like to have, what future kinds of employment is going to be available for our people in the society.

As you have probably been noticing in the newspapers and in the newsreels, the problems we have had in trying to retrain fathers whose jobs have become obsolete and all the kinds of problems that go along with that. And what we really need to do—and it cannot be done just by Government; it has to be done by public and private initiative—is to begin defining what kind of roles and jobs we are going to have in the future and how should we begin as a society setting priorities and training for those, because I think that bears a lot on what you are talking about. It just cannot be done by one thing.

Mrs. JOHNSON. I think the import of my question—and I will conclude after this because I know we really are pressed for time—the next witness apparently has a plane to catch.

But I guess what I am asking of you, you know, as you do your work, is if you could spot individual programs, you know, that you think if we fed the right information into, if we began to educate the people who work at that point in our society, to acquaint them with some of the literature about the stages, sort of like we have done a lot of work in terms of educational development, what are the stages of learning.

Now, there is some pretty good work on what are the stages of dealing with separation and divorce, both for children and for parents. You know, who is out there doing that work? How could we better spread the word?

So I am asking really in terms of not such a cosmic sense but concretely, how should we be altering our priorities in the expenditure of public funds to begin addressing these problems more effectively.

So I thank you.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you all very much.

Dr. Biller, we would be remiss if we did not ask for the name of your son since this is his first congressional appearance.

Mr. BILLER. Benjamin.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Benjamin, we are very delighted with his first congressional appearance.

Thank you all very much. We really thank the panel very much for their time and effort and patience this morning.

And we now move on to panel 4. Panel 4 wins the award for the most patience. You will testify about programs that address father absence and involvement. The setting for your testimony has been framed by the previous witnesses.

We first have David Bahlmann, who is the chairman of the National Collaboration for Youth, and executive vice president of the Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America in Philadephia.

Then we will hear from James Levine and Debra Klinman of the fatherhood project of the Bank Street College in New York, and Rev. Herman Heade, who is the national director of urban affairs and church relations for the Prison Fellowship of Washington, D.C.

We are very impressed with this distinguished panel. Thank you so much for your being here and waiting.

Let us begin. If all of you can summarize, we will put your entire statement in the record. I know you are probably getting hungry, so let us move right ahead. David Bahlmann, let us start with you.

STATEMENT OF DAVID W. BAHLMANN, CHAIR, NATIONAL COLLABORATION FOR YOUTH, AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, BIG BROTHERS/BIG SISTERS OF AMERICA, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Mr. BAHLMANN. Thank you very much. And I sincerely appreciate your particular attention. I know that this has been a very difficult day for you.

I am David Bahlmann. I am the executive vice president of Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America, and also, as you have indicated, have the privilege of serving as the chair now of the National Collaboration for Youth.

I am also, Congresswoman Johnson, the person who had to make the plane, and I will tell you that that is by us now. And it was my feeling that it was more important that we spend the time necessary to do this appropriately and give you a chance to ask questions and hopefully, if we do not know the answers, we will be able to find out in some of those areas.

So I do not want that to be a consideration in the next few minutes, particularly with my colleagues who I am aware have some of the finest programs in the country, because that is the point of the panel, to try to talk about what are some of the programs today that are trying to deal with some of these issues. And more importantly, to help to serve as repositories for some of the research of the people that you have talked about here today.

I think it is important that we start our discussion in this particular panel with an understanding that the things that you have heard here this morning and the access that you have had to some of the people, particularly the doctors, and the General, and the other programs that have been discussed of course are the heart and soul of the things that we are involved with on a day-to-day basis.

We all deal with what we call the state of the art in terms of service delivery, and as such, we are dependent not only on their research capabilities and on the day-to-day activities and studies that they conduct, but also on the ability of them to translate that work through our professional staffs and our volunteer staffs into day-to-day activity that translates into service for families.

Specifically, as you are aware, I hope, the National Collaboration for Youth is composed of 14 national volunteer youth-serving organizations, and in our written document, Representative Schroeder, it contains the membership, but I think it is membership that is very well known to all of you here in the room. In fact, as I look up here, several of our very star members of the organizations are represented by these panelists that we are working with today.

As such, the collaboration organizations collectively now serve 25 million young people under the age of 19, which represents about one-third of all young people in that group in the country.

More importantly, the National Collaboration for Youth is an affinity group of the national assembly, national voluntary health and social welfare organizations, which is 31 members strong, and through additional members and through additional programing represents nearly 50 million people across the country.

What we would like to do in the next couple of minutes in our discussion, rather than use the actual paper that we have presented for you, is to make you aware that first of all, these organizations represent, on an average, about 70 years of service. And there is one thing about that particular concept in that we have had the opportunity to learn both the pros and cons, and grow, and build a building framework on that experience. And in doing that, we hope to be able to provide now the kinds of programs in a number of areas that we think will deal with this particular subject.

Specifically, our youth area of National Collaboration deals with vocational, educational, employment, health, recreation, and family life. Millions of the young people that we now serve come from homes where fathers are absent. In the case of my particular agency, Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America, 95 percent of our clientele are from what is now we refer to as the parent-absent concept, because, of course, none of us are single-parent concepts at all; we were always the product of two parents, even if we were test-tube oriented.

But whatever the conditions are, there is now a learning situation for our service community that says that they have different needs than what was referred to before as the nuclear family. And I think that is a point that we want to make here.

Dr. Biller and several others made it, and we want to underline it. There is nothing pathological in any way about the single-parent or parent-absent concept. It simply has different kinds of manifestations to it. It has in it very specific needs in terms of service delivery, and that is what we attempt to deal with.

Now, in those I would like to give you some brief examples, particularly from the agencies in Collaboration for Youth, to give you an idea of the scope of what we are talking about.

Of course the organization known as Boys' Club of America is well known across this country, serving in 1,100 community-type programs nearly 1 million youngsters at a given time. The demographic profile of the Boys' Club membership indicates that 46 percent of those boys currently come from single-parent families with a vast majority of those type youngsters headed by a woman in that family.

In that particular situation I think it is important to know that Boys' Clubs and Girls' Clubs across the country now serve a myriad

of situations, and many of them on a collaborative effort. At the organizations' recent annual conference held during the National Year of the Child, the Boys' Club of America specifically addressed the issue of single-parent families in a variety of ways, including facilitating peer-counseling situations which match well-adjusted children from single-parent families with those experiencing difficulty in adapting to the situation, establishing parent-support groups, developing parenting classes, and a myriad of other activities.

The next organization counts Representative Schroeder as one of its star alumni and carriers, and of course I am referring to Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., which you have long been involved in. And, of course, I had the privilege of watching you on TV as you wore your badge sash across you. But as we all smile at that, I think we all recognize the true significance of the message you were giving, and that is that you had an opportunity as a young person, and now as a volunteer, and an adult to see the real validity of some of the tenets that are delivered in programs such as that.

A longstanding influence on so many hundreds of young women, the Girl Scouts currently are very much aware of this changing structure of the once traditional nuclear family and have a number of programs that I think might be significant for our discussion today.

For example, in upstate New York the Girl Scout Council has received a grant to provide weekend activities for single parent/children family units—underline units. They are not just in the isolation of the child but the single-parent family unit dealing with the whole scope of activities there. The program has also proven to be popular with fathers who see their children, and particularly their daughters, only on weekends. That gives us a whole different perspective.

Coincidentally, Girl Scouts have observed that it appears that single-parent family parents spend more of their leisure time with their children than the parents in the nuclear family, a point just discussed by our prior panel. And if this is studied further and analyzed, it may well become one of the factors that Girl Scouts are using in their recruitment of leaders.

In the program known as Campfire, of course, you are aware that from its traditional days of being just a girls' serving agency it has now gone coeducational, and rather than having an all-female organization, the leaders are now both men and women. They are often paired together as positive role models. Some Campfire councils have often a course called I'm Feeling Fine, which deals with the positive aspects of the child, particularly those that have come through the traumatic separation in a family. While not specifically geared toward the single-parent children, Campfire has determined that 70 percent of its participants in the stress management course are from a single-parent home.

The Boy Scouts of America deal with a significant area that is important to my agency, and that is the aspect of providing role models, and what many of these organizations are able to do, particularly in a number of their programs. In their Cub Scout program for younger boys the Boy Scouts have focused on family-ori-

ented programs which recognize a variety of family structures, including the single-parent family.

United Neighborhood Centers of America, which represents settlement houses and community centers throughout the country, has a rather unique, multigenerational service-delivery concept because of its ability to match young and elderly within its settlement houses, and they use the young people to provide friendly visiting services, shopping, escort services for the elderly. But in turn, the elderly models, of course, provide efficient role models for their child counterparts.

In the case of the Girl Scouts of America, their staff instructors have now gone extensively in the area of making a concerted effort to have males on their staff—I heard Dr. Biller when he talked about the limited number of male teachers, particularly in the elementary level and the kindergarten level—and also to serve as effective role models for their young women in terms of other service deliveries.

They have a number of special programs, one called Coping With Divorce, which is a model project at Portsmouth, Va., which is in conjunction with a family service agency there. Also in Sarasota, Fla., which offers its own counseling services within the Girls' Club. They have a program known as Kids Can Cope which is from Arlington, Tex., and it deals with preadolescent children where they actually wrote a book about coping of which the issue of divorce was raised.

In our own particular agency, Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America, now celebrating its 80th year of service to youngsters, and as we indicated, we currently serve upwards of 100,000 in terms of actually matched youngsters and another 100,000 screened and on waiting lists, 95 percent of whom are from the parent-absent concept.

In doing that we provide a significant other or role model for the youngster 3 to 5 hours a week on the basis of allowing the youngster and the adult to develop their relationship around activities which are common to them and their environment.

The unique 1-to-1 service capability of course is not really unique at all because that is really the relationships that special people and friends have with them. I think it is probably no secret to many of you on this panel that Representative Coats is still a big brother and has been involved with this program for some time, as have a number of Members of Congress, and of course, his involvement as a volunteer in that organization has included serving as the president of his agency at the local community, and very importantly, in other significant areas here in the congressional area.

I was particularly impressed and pleased to hear your question of what we can do as a group here, and I think that is important that you first recognize in laying the foundation you have asked the important question, and that is, that this is a relevant issue that needs to be addressed. Many times that does not get that kind of dominance that is necessary, and you have done that.

Second, I think to be critical of the state base of knowledge, you raised the question earlier, Representative Wolf, about a study that is many years old and draws a lot of attention about 37 seconds and some of that kind of thing.

Well, the thing we want to make you aware of is the report that we gave this morning to Representative Coats that we will provide to each of you. Big Brothers/Big Sisters has recently received a grant from the Hodd Foundation in Texas to work with the University of Texas School of Social Work in Austin and our agencies as we train our caseworkers across the country.

Out of that particular model project has come a paper now entitled "The Single-Parent Family," which I gave to Representative Coats this morning, which has a number of salient factors in it, one of which is an analogy of the annotated bibliography and the other references of the more than 400 studies that have been done on father-absence concepts.

The thing we want to bring to your attention is of those 400 studies, we think really at this point only 60 of them were methodologically sound. In short, be critical in what you are given and analyze. Do not just buy the concept of labels. The particular significance is cause-and-effect relationship.

Yes, we believe there are many correlations that can be drawn, but to say that one is a cause and effect of another is very, very difficult. We will make this report available to you. It attempts to discuss most of the studies that have been available through the last 2 years. It gives you a copy of the materials that we use as the instructors and some of the problems and positive factors of the one-parent family, and together with the participants' materials.

The last thing I would like to do in closing my remarks is something that Representative Coats asked me to do because he thinks maybe that it might give you a little different perspective.

I have had an opportunity today to really witness some of my own development. I am one of your kids. My parents divorced when I was 1 year old. I never saw my father again until I was 23. My mother did not marry again until I was away in college.

It originally started because my father went off to the Second World War, and I was then taken across the country to live with my mother, and my grandmother, and my great-aunt, so that at whatever age I would be, I would be the oldest male in my family.

The thing that was significant, and I think maybe one of the things that needed to be discussed here, was I was fortunate enough at the age of 5 to be able to interact with a volunteer who is the concept model of a Big Brother, and he gave me a sphere of integration in my own thougnts and my own relationships in a context to let me understand a little bit about what I was about, about what I was capable of, but more importantly, the reality that I had the ability to fail, that I could tee it all up and risk everything and tomorrow the Sun was still going to come up, and I had a chance to take part in that, whatever was appropriate for me.

The reason I think it was significant was he was a lawyer and, of course, gave me the role model to maybe do that. I then became later a district attorney, was involved particularly initially as a deputy prosecutor in juvenile court. I have probably tried 5,000 to 6,000 cases of this nature. And as my mother referred to it, I never learned the basic premise that there are some things you cannot do anything about, so we run around banging our heads on the wall.

My wife and I took 26 of these kids home. We have adopted seven of them. And I think in that context we have seen the oppor-

tunity that these programs that you are going to hear about, besides the one I have talked about, can give to us. And that is that in the 7 children we adopted and in the other 20 or so that we were foster parents to, we have had the chance to really experience most of the kinds of trauma that you talk about. A good share of them came from father-absent situations, but in fact, they were from parenting structures that were at least adequate if not better than that, and yet for one reason or another, there were conditions of stress that were worked out.

We have had youngsters, very frankly, that were involved in drug abuse, alcoholics, there were burglaries, robbery, rape, runaway, arson. They range in age now from 31 down to 6. We have four youngsters that are retarded and handicapped.

But the one thing we learned in all of it was the great capacities of our social service community and our professionals to collaborate and work together. The system does allow for it. It is an exciting time, I think, to be part of these programs. But more importantly, the reality that we are now recognizing that it is an evolving process, and that we have the capability to work with one another to solve that is perhaps the greatest thing that stimulates all of us.

We are always motivated, I think, by Pogo's old statement that we are overwhelmed by insurmountable opportunities. We think that this is kind of an opportunity right now that gives us chance to really make a difference in the lives of one another, and we think that is a great chance.

[Prepared statement of David W. Bahlmann follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DAVID W. BAHLMANN, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF BIG BROTHERS/BIG SISTERS OF AMERICA, AND CHAIR OF THE NATIONAL COLLABORATION FOR YOUTH

Good morning, I'm David W. Bahlmann, Executive Vice President of Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America, and also Chair of the National Collaboration for Youth. I'm pleased to be here today to speak with you about the Father-absent home and its impact upon the family, and in particular, the child.

Family circumstances have been changing so rapidly from the traditional two parent situation to the phenomenon of a single-parent family head that accurate understanding and interpretation of the situation and the addressing of the needs has not kept pace. The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that 50 percent of the children born in 1982 will live in single-parent homes sometime during their first 18 years of life—an increase of almost 80 percent in the last decade. Of the 63 million children in the United States, 12.6 million, or roughly 20 percent, are living with a single parent. Of these single-parent families, 90 percent are father-absent homes. Forty-eight percent are by reason of divorce, 28 percent are through separation, 17 percent live with never-married mothers and 13 percent are through death.

The impact that these statistical facts is having on our youth is now under study. Present research indicates that children from one-parent homes show lower achievement and present more discipline problems than do their peers. It also shows that they tend to be absent from school more often, late to school more often, and may show more health problems than do their peers. Studies have not concluded that these problems have been caused by the change in family status, but rather suggest a definite correlation between school performance and family status.

Robert D. Allers, in an article entitled "Children From Single-Parent Homes," [1] offers insight into why these children from single-parent homes tend to show lower achievement and present more discipline problems than do their peers from two parent homes. Generally, he states, the child in a single-parent home will have

[1] Robert D. Allers, "Children From Single-Parent Homes" Today's Education, 1982—1983 Annual, page 68.

more to deal with than just the loss of a parent or temporary separation from the parent. In the case of divorce, many of the problems cited may be the result of unhappiness at home that began before the parents' separation.

Another cause of stress often inherent in either divorce or death, he continues, is the loss or reduction of income. In many two parent homes, both parents must work simply to pay the bills. When one parent is absent, the single income remaining must support the same family, minus one. In 1981, more than nine million single mothers had incomes below the poverty level. These families must often move into less expensive housing and adjust to a different life-style. The child may need to change schools, make new friends, all stress-evoking situations. Further, this reduced income may prevent a parent from having a babysitter or sending the child to a day care center. Unless a relative or some agency helps out, the child may become part of an ever-increasing number known as "latchkey children." Unsupervised, these children must prematurely bear the responsibility for caring for themselves.

The child in a single-parent home also suffers increased pressure through the loss of some or all contact with the absent parent. Like the child, a parent will grieve after either a bereavement or divorce. In struggling with their own emotions and needs, they are often less effective parents. Children who have seen a parent die or have suffered through a divorce often lack the knowledge or emotional resources that would help them begin to cope with these experiences. A child must often draw conclusions about these changes using the little information he/she has gleaned from eavesdropping, incomplete explanations, biased reports, even fantasies. Unfortunately, such conclusions are generally inaccurate and often frightening to the child.

Mr. Allers concludes that the child who is living with one parent, then, may find more or different challenges in life than the child living with two. As these children grow in numbers, so must our sensitivity to their situation. The concerns and needs of one parent children must be faced now and in new and better ways.

Our Nation's youth-serving agencies have the opportunity to take the lead, through their various programs, in assisting children from father-absent homes to handle the challanges presented to them in a manner which allows them to grow and mature to healthy, productive adults.

Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America is a national nonprofit youth organization offering a unique service. This service is based on a one-to-one friendship between an adult volunteer and a school-age child from a one parent home who needs special, extra adult attention. Each of our volunteers makes a commitment to spend three to six hours a week for at least a year with a little brother or sister, caring, sharing experiences, and listening to the child's concerns. The friendship develops through such commonplace activities as taking a walk, baking cookies, or building a model airplane. When posed against the increasingly complex and confusing demans of our society, the sensitivity and simplicity of these relationships can provide the balance needed for a child to grow into a healthy, productive adult. The friendship of a mature adult is an necessary as food to a child's growth and development. Too many youngsters, handicapped by their environment, never experience the trust that such friendships inspire.

Not every child from a one parent home needs a big brother or a big sister. Many can rely on traditional extended family support systems. But for an estimated one fifth of these children, there are no such supports. Single parents who must work and maintain the household, and who often have more than one child, may not have the time and energy to fulfill their needs. Increasing numbers of concerned parents are seeking this kind of support, recognizing that a big brother or big sister is not a substitute parent but an ally who can help a child through a difficult period and the challenges of growing up.

These parents have confidence in the Big Brothers/Big Sisters approach. For although the friendships are informal, they are supported by trained professional staff at each of our agencies. Each match is carefully screened and supervised from the very beginning. The family's needs, the child's interest, and the volunteer's interests and personality are taken into consideration in making the best possible match. Once a match is made, goals are set and regular contacts maintained between the parent, child, volunteer and agency staff. Adult volunteers become available through personal inquiry, through media recruitment and referral from other volunteers. Children are referred from social service agencies, the juvenile justice system, schools, churches, or through parents' request.

For just over 80 years, these one-to-one friendships have helped many children through the most challenging and crucial time of their lives. Field studies conducted beginning in 1939 have established that this is a highly effective means for prevent-

ing juvenile delinquency and emotional problems, and preparing children for adulthood.

Furthermore, it is a cost-effective method, both in human and economic terms. The average cost of a match is about $650 a year. In comparison, it costs taxpayers $3,000 for each child entered into the juvenile justice system and from $18,000 to $65,000 a year for institutionalization.

The normal troubles of childhood, if badly handled or ignored, can develop into something more serious. Big Brothers/Big Sisters give the kind of additional supportive, mature friendship a child needs in getting over those rough spots.

In working to meet these needs, Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America has become the fastest growing youth-serving organization in the United States. From its beginnings in 1903, it has grown to more than 450 local agencies, serving more than 100,000 children across country.

Thus far I have described to you some of the ways in which Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America serve young people who come from homes where there is no father present. But I want you to know that Big Brothers/Big Sisters does not act alone in this area. There exists in this country a vast network of voluntary human service organizations which provide significant support and growth-producing experiences for young people and their families in the large cities, small towns and rural areas of every state in this country. They operate in the best American tradition, responsive to local community needs, with the guidance of local community boards and councils. Under their aegis, their services frequently combine the best professional help with the use of millions of volunteers who believe in neighbors helping neighbors. They are supported with private funds—a combination of membership dues, fees for services rendered and charitable contributions. They supplement services offered by government, and they are the source of many of the most significant innovations in human service.

I have the privilege of serving as the chair of the National Collaboration for Youth, which is composed of 14 national, voluntary youth-serving organizations, under whose auspices many of these local community efforts are conducted. Collaboration organizations collectively serve more than 25 million young people under the age of 19, one third of all young people in that age group in this country. You will recognize, on the attached list of collaboration members, most of the organizations of which I speak, since they have played such an important part in America's history, and so many Americans have been involved with them over the years. On the average, these organizations have served this country for over 70 years.

The National Collaboration for Youth is an affinity group of the National Assembly of National Voluntary Health and Social Welfare Organizations, Inc., an even broader network of voluntary human service agencies. Thirty-one national organizations currently belong to the national assembly, which provides them with a framework for communication and cooperation designed to enhance the capacity of each organization to accomplish its own goals and objectives. Through their community-based affiliates in every State and some foreign countries, assembly organizations have an individual membership of or provide services to more than 50 million Americans.

The national youth-serving organizations which are part of this voluntary human service network address the needs of youth in many areas: Vocational, educational, employment health, recreation, and family life. Millions of the young people they serve come from homes where fathers are absent. In many instances, these organizations have specific programs aimed at young people who live in single-parent homes. But their services go well beyond such targeted programs. All of these organizations recognize the vast diversity in the family structure; their programs are developed in the context of an overall commitment to be responsive to such diversity and by their very nature, offer important resources to the young people we are addressing here. Let me give you a few examples of the work these organizations do.

The core of the Boys Clubs of America programs includes the provision of positive role models for the over one million boys that they serve each year. The demographic profile of the boys clubs membership indicates that 46 percent of the boys served come from single-parent families, with the vast majority headed by women. The boys clubs of America has found that boys from single-parent homes use their services in the small towns as well as in the major cities of this country. At the organization's annual conference held during the International Year of the Child, the Boys Clubs of America specifically addressed the issue of single-parent families in a variety of ways, including facilitating peer counseling situations which match well-adjusted children from single-parent families with those experiencing difficulty in adapting to the situation; establishing parent support groups; developing parenting classes; and other activities.

The Girl Scouts of the U.S.A, a long-standing influence on so many hundreds of young women, is also very much aware of the changing structure of the once traditional nuclear family. In both their programming and girl scout leader training, the Girl Scouts are making the appropriate adjustments in recognition of the increasing numbers of single-parent families. For instance, leaders are encouraged to have "family affair" programs, moving away from mother/daughter activities. This will allow for the inclusion of other members of the family and perhaps extended family.

An upstate New York Girl Scout council has received a grant to provide weekend activities for single-parent/child family units. This program has also proven to be popular with fathers who may see their daughters only for the weekend. Another popular father-daughter program is a disco program sponsored by the Council of Greater New York Girl Scouts. Coincidentally, the Girl Scouts have observed that it appears that single parents spend more of their leasure time with their children than the parents in a nuclear family, and as this is studied further and analyzed, it may well become one of the factors the Girl Scouts will use in their recruitment of leaders.

Camp Fire, Inc., has also adjusted its programming in recognition of the differences in family structures. As Camp Fire has become a coeducational rather than all-female organization, leaders are now both men and women and may often be paired together as positive role models. Some camp fire councils have offered a course called "I'm Feeling Fine." While not specifically geared towards single-parent children, Camp Fire has determined that 70 percent of the participants in this stress management course are from single-parent homes. In these courses, children are encourage to identify and explore positive ways to cope with stress.

Providing role models is what many of these organizations are about. The Boy Scouts of America are senstive to the fact that many of their members come from single-parent, primarily female-headed families, and they continually adapt their programs to this reality. In some communities where there are fewer males to serve as Scout leaders, women fill these roles. In addition, the Boy Scouts of America have created another level of leaders called "den aides" who may either be male or female. These are young people, aged 14 to 17, who can act as leaders in lieu of fathers. In their Cub Scout program for younger boys, the Boy Scouts have focused on "family-oriented" programs which recognize a variety of family structures including single-parent families.

United Neighborhood Centers of America represents settlement houses and community centers throughout the country. The settlement houses which have such a proud tradition in America's history are operated by and for the neighborhoods in which they are located. In both their civic and recreational programs, their volunteers and staff provide important role models. Inovations abound in providing role models for young people For example, a rather unique "multigenerational" service delivery program between the young and elderly within settlement houses uses young people to provide friendly visiting services, shopping and escort services to elderly people within the settlement houses. Often the senior citizen being served can offer a positive role model for these youngsters, similar to the Foster Grandparent Program.

What I have described are merely a few examples—by no means an exhaustive overview—of the services that voluntary youth-serving agencies can and do provide for children from single-parent homes. The voluntary sector is an important part of American community services. We are committed to the young people of this country and understand the special needs of those who live in father-absent homes. Programs for these children and their families require increased support. Because voluntary youth-serving agencies work so closely with children from father-absent households, we are pleased to have had this opportunity to share with you some of our views, and we look forward to being part of the continuing national dialogue on single-parenting.

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF NATIONAL VOLUNTARY HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS, INC.

AFL-CIO, Department of Community Services; American Council for Nationalities Service/International Social Service; American Foundation for the Blind, Inc.; American Red Cross; Association of Junior Leagues; Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America; Boy Scouts of America; Boys Clubs of America; Camp Fire, Inc.; Child Welfare League of America; The Congressional Award; Council of Jewish Federations; Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.; Girls Clubs of America; and JWB (National Jewish Welfare Board).

Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., Division of Mission and Ministry; National Committee Adoption; National Conference of Catholic Charities; National Council of Negro Women; The National Council on the Aging, Inc.; National HomeCaring Council; The National Network of Runaway and Youth Services; National Youth Work Alliance; The Salvation Army; Travelers Aid Association of America; United Neighborhood Centers of America; United Seamen's Service; USO (United Service Organizations); United Way of America; YMCA of the U.S.A.; and National Board, YWCA of the U.S.A.

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American Red Cross; Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America; Boy Scouts of America; Boys Clubs of America; Camp Fire, Inc.; The Congressional Award; Future Homemakers of America; Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.; Girls Clubs of America; The National Network of Runaway and Youth Services; National Youth Work Alliance; United Neighborhood Centers of America; YMCA of the U.S.A.; and National Board, YWCA of the U.S.A.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very, very much for your very moving testimony.

Now we move to the Fatherhood project which we are excited to hear about.

Again, we will put your statement in the record, if you want to summarize.

STATEMENTS OF JAMES A. LEVINE AND DEBRA G. KLINMAN, PH.D., THE FATHERHOOD PROJECT, BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mr. LEVINE. Chairwoman Schroeder, Congressman Coats, distinguished members of the committee, I trust you will not be displeased if I scrap my prepared comments and refer you to the written record so that Debra, Dr. Klinman, and I can limit our testimony to 5 minutes.

You asked if we are concerned about father involvement, involvement of fathers in family life, what can be done in a practical way. Are there programs out there? How can we spread the word about them?

The Fatherhood project, which I direct, was established for just that purpose. We have operated since September 1981 with funding from several of the major foundations to identify programs throughout the United States that might encourage or support the involvement of fathers in family life.

We have been operating a clearinghouse to provide information about such programs and to refer people to positive sources of support. We have received upwards of 7,000 requests for assistance in 2 years. We are operating a national series of fatherhood forums, the first of which took place in New York last year on Father's Day weekend. There will be six this coming Father's Day weekend. These are efforts to organize on a community basis, to draw attention to some of the practical and positive efforts to enhance father involvement.

And last, we are publishing two books, (1) "Fatherhood U.S.A." a national directory of programs, services, and resources for fathers and their families; and (2) a book called "The Future of Fatherhood," a sort of state of the Nation report on fatherhood and social change.

I would like to yield the floor to Dr. Klinman and let her just present briefly some of our findings.

Dr. KLINMAN. Thank you.

Members of the committee, good afternoon, and thank you for the opportunity to talk with you today.

I would like to describe some selected examples of what we found by way of programs which do encourage father involvement, which answer, I think, the question that we have heard repeatedly about concrete and positive steps that can be taken to encourage father involvement.

First, from St. Paul, Minn., a program that is called For a Father and His Baby. Over the the last decade or so fathers have become much more actively involved in the birth process. Still, they find themselves routinely excluded from hospital-based programs that provide information, infant-care skills, and encouragement to new parents.

This program, which is headquartered in a community hospital, provides a post partum forum just for fathers and their babies. The men learn and practice the routines of child care, offer each other tips and supportive suggestions, and gain a great deal both in confidence and competence.

Says the course instructor; "The fathers start out afraid that their babies are as fragile as Dresden china, and they come away confident that they are really as resilient as rag dolls."

A second program called the Teen Father Collaboration is actually a series of services operating in eight different cities around the country and coordinated out of New York City.

Adolescent pregnancy remains the problem that will not go away. Its unfortunate consequences are well documented and often signal the onset of long-term welfare dependency. Unfortunately, the male partner in teenage parenting has been largely ignored, both in terms of his own needs as a parent and in terms of his potential to contribute to the developmental and financial well-being of his child.

This collaboration offers young fathers such services as continuing education, job skill training, job referrals, parenting skills training, and family planning information. Results at all eight sites are being pooled to assess the most effective means for encouraging the continued responsible involvement of teenage fathers.

A third program in Seattle, Wash., called Supporting Extended Family Members recognizes the benefits of providing the fathers of young handicapped children with support, information, encouragment and a sense of community. Essentially, a father-child play and discussion group, this program tailors its activities to the special needs of special families. Perhaps most importantly, fathers who participate in this program come to appreciate and enjoy the specialness of their children and become more able to act as informed and caring advocates to protect their childrens' rights.

A fourth and final example, the Father Assistance Community Education Service in Plainville, Conn., is designed to meet the needs of single fathers, a considerable constituency since 1 in 10 single-parent families are father headed.

Recognizing that men may resist seeking help even when they most need it, this program, which is headquartered at a community mental health clinic, offers information and education instead. Topics include legal issues, practical homemaking skills, and coping

with new responsibilities as family structures shift and readjust. In time, many of the participants join one of several ongoing father support groups, thereby maintaining their access to assistance throughout the time when they and their children are most likely to benefit from feeling a little less alone.

These few examples do not represent a trend that is widespread in our society, nor do they represent a revolution in the responsiveness of American institutions to the needs of fathers and their families.

It is of no small significance that changes have been particularly slow in the world of corporate America, a world in which so many men forge their identities in terms of the work they do. Only a small number of employers are now implementing changes that might help fathers better balance their commitments to job and to family.

In addition, initiatives that allow or encourage fathers to be more involved with their families are bound to meet with resistance, both from institutions concerned with the conservation of limited resources and, even more strongly, from attitudes and opinions that we all hold about what is sex role appropriate behavior for men and for women.

Although the innovations that we have described here today may be few and far between, they are important nonetheless. They are concrete, practical evidence that small and relatively inexpensive steps can be taken to reach out and meet the needs of at least some fathers and their families. They provide new ways of strengthening the American family in its many forms, and they show, we hope, that the need in our society is not just to ameliorate father absence but to enhance father presence.

Thank you.

[Prepared statement of James A. Levine and Debra Klinman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES A. LEVINE, PROJECT DIRECTOR, AND DEBRA G. KLINMAN, PH.D., PROJECT MANAGER, THE FATHERHOOD PROJECT, BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, NEW YORK CITY

Chairwoman Schroeder, Congressman Miller, Congressman Weiss, who represents our district, and distinguished members of the Committee, before we testify let us take a moment to applaud the establishment of this committee as a voice for children, youth, and families, and to commend the sustained efforts it is making to bring the pressing needs of America's families to Congressional and public attention.

We commend, in particular, the Attention this hearing forcuses on the role of the father in the family. Public discussion of the "changing American family" usually focuses on mothers. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first governmental forum ever to concern itself specifically with fathers. We are honored by your invitation to testify this morning.

Our brief remarks have three underlying goals: to reorient the Committee's definition of paternal absence, to broaden its perspective on fatherhood, and to focus attention on new and promising programs that encourage an enhanced role for fathers within the family.

Without repeating the statistics you have all heard, it is compellingly clear that the large numbers of children and women living in households with an absent father are at serious economic disadvantage. But defining paternal absence exclusively as "homes without a father" may easily lead us to overlook the needs and interests of families in which the father is not technically absent, but psychologically and emotionally distant. It may lead us to ignore the troubling fact that our soci-

ety routinely sends fathers messages that legitimize such distance and that discourage involvement in their children's lives.

Consider the messages we routinely send to men—and to women—when our Congressional committees, leading newspapers, and educational experts persist in defining child care as a problem faced by "working mothers," as if fathers had no possible investment in the care of their offspring.

Consider the father of a Downes syndrome child who attends a parents' meeting at the local special education center, and hears professionals talk for two hours about handicapped children and the crucial role played by their mothers, with not the slightest acknowledgment of his presence or the importance of his role.

Consider the father who takes a year off to care for a newborn while his wife, for reasons that are largely economic, continues working, and who later finds that he cannot find another job because employers keep telling him, as the Wall Street Journal reported in one case: "I'd rather hire someone from Mars."

Consider the divorcing father who does not want to become merely a weekend Santa Claus to his children but who is told, in effect, by both lawyers and judges, that he should neither hope nor press for more.

For the most part, our society does very little to support the involvement of fathers in childbearing—except, of course, as breadwinners. It gives signals to men that they do not—and should not—have any significant day-to-day responsibility for their children, even if they want it.

Only recently have there been some signs of change, as schools, social service agencies, employers, hospitals, the courts, and other American institutions have slowly begun to develop new programs to encourage greater father involvement.

Since 1981, thanks to the support of several foundations, The Fatherhood Project has gathered information about some 400 such innovations. The results of our research are forthcoming in two books: Fatherhood U.S.A., which is a national directory of programs, services, and other resources for and about fathers, and the Future of Fatherhood, which is a "state of the nation report" on fatherhood and social change. My colleague, Dr. Debra Klinman, will now share some highlights of what we have found.

"For a Father and His Baby" (St. Paul, MN)—Over the last decade or so, fathers have become much more actively involved in the birth process. A recent Gallup poll, for example, indicates that 80% of all husbands are now present during labor and delivery. But what happens after the baby arrives? Most fathers still find themselves excluded from hospital-based programs that provide the information, infant care skills, and encouragement they need as new parents. This three-week program, headquartered in a community hospital, provides a postpartum forum just for fathers, who bring their babies along for "hands-on" Saturday sessions. Fathers take over the routines of child care—feeding, diapering, comforting—and learn the art of baby massage and how to communicate through music and rhythmic movement. They offer each other tips and supportive suggestions, and are often relieved and encouraged to find out that they are far from alone in the uncertainty with which they approach the responsibilities of fatherhood. Says the course instructor: "They start out afraid that their babies are as fragile as Dresden China, and come away confident that they're really as resilient as rag dolls."

"Boys (and Girls) and Babies" (New York, NY)—Children can learn to think about themselves in new, flexible ways more easily than adults can, and attitudes about what is—and what is not—sex-role "appropriate" are at the very foundation of the difficulty many men still encounter when they try to establish close relationships with their own children. This program is designed to intervene early in this process of self-definition by providing school-aged youngsters with "hands-on" child care experience. Boys generally begin this eight week program at a respectful distance from their small charges, not quite knowing where or how to get started. They soon learn how to watch for non-verbal cues and decipher the mysteries of baby talk, responding appropriately to signals of pleasure, discomfort, or need. They also explore their own feelings about caring for and being cared for by others, and think ahead to becoming fathers. On a more immediate level, they are awarded a certificate of accomplishment, which they use, proudly, to obtain babysitting jobs and earn pocket money.

"Teen Father Collaboration" (eight cities across the country, coordinated out of New York, NY)—The problem of adolescent pregnancy had concerned the social service community for decades, but it remains "the problem that won't go away." In fact, the trend is toward an increase in childbearing among the very youngest of teen parents, those under the age of 15. The unfortunate consequences of too-early parenting are well documented: lower school achievement, fewer job skills, little economic independence, less marital stability, increased infant mortality and illness,

and more frequent childbearing throughout adolescence and young adulthood. While an impressive network of social service agencies work with young mothers and their babies to try to offset some of these negative outcomes, the male partner in teenage parenting has been largely ignored—both in terms of his own needs as a parent, and his potential to contribute to the psychological and financial well-being of his child. This program represents the first concerted attempt to develop new services to reach the young father and to access the effectiveness of such services. Teen fathers in eight cities are offered education, job-skill training, employment referrals, "hands-on" parenting skills training, family planning information, counseling, and mutual support. The combined experiences of all eight sites are being used to produce guidelines and models for effectively encouraging the responsible involvement of teenage fathers—a new approach to solving the "problem that won't go away."

"Something Special for Dads (and Kids)" (New York, NY)—The preschool years have long been recognized as an important period in child development and in the development of the parent-child relationship. Therefore, playgroups and parent education programs for the mothers of preschoolers are widespread and well-attended. This program represents an extension and adaptation of such opportunities to the needs of fathers, who attend ten school-based Saturday sessions in the company of their youngsters. Each session combines group activities, social interaction, and time for a supportive "dads-only" discussion of common issues and concerns. Fathers learn about child development, and provide each other with support and ecouragement. Perhaps, more importantly, the strength of the father-child bond is reinforced by sharing this "special time" together.

"Supporting Extended Family Members—SEFAM" (Seattle, WA)—It is difficult enough for fathers to overcome the barriers that limit their involvement with children who are developmentally and physically normal. When a child is handicapped, the challenge a father faces is even greater—and his response can be crucial to the well-being of his family. This program, which recognizes the benefits of providing fathers (as well as mothers, siblings, and grandparents) of young handicapped children with support, information, encouragement, and a sense of community, is headquartered at a University-based mental health/mental retardation center. Combining all of the best features of a successful father-child play and discussion group, it tailors its activities to the special needs of the children and parents it serves. Group activities place strong emphasis on developmentally appropriate play; fathers get the chance to share concerns with other men who truly understand what they are going through; guest speakers address topics of practical and pressing concern. Perhaps most importantly, fathers come to appreciate and enjoy the "specialness" of their children, acting as informed advocates to protect their rights.

"Father Assistance Community Education Services—FACES" (Plainville, CT)—The number of single parent families is already staggering and the social trends which produce such families show relatively few signs of abating. While the majority of single parents are mothers, one in ten single parent families are now father-headed; because of sheer numbers, such families represent a "critical mass" that can no longer be ignored. This program, which operates out of a community mental health clinic, has become a kind of "magnet" for single fathers, with or without custody. Recognizing the common wisdom that men may resist seeking help (even when they might clearly benefit from some type of assistance) the program attracts single fathers by offering them information and education during a ten week series of evening meetings. Topics are specially geared to the needs of the single father—for example, legal issues, practical homemaking skills, and coping with new responsibilities as family structures shift and readjust. In time, many participants come to depend on one another for mutual support; they are then offered the opportunity to join an ongoing fathers' group. In this way, they can maintain their access to support and information throughout the time when they—and their children—are most likely to benefit from feeling a little less alone.

"Incarcerated Fathers' Group" (Norfolk, MA)—When a father is incarcerated, his family may confront serious disruption. Recognizing this, in a recent call for applications for OHDS Coordinated Discretionary Funds, the Federal Register notes: "There is a need . . . to maintain the family relationship [and] to use the period [of incarceration] . . . to strengthen parental skills and commitments and to provide appropriate support to children." This program, which operates out of a medium security installation, is one of very few in the country to work with groups of incarcerated fathers. It is designed to enhance the relationship between male inmates and their children—establishing contact through letters and prison visits, and providing support and encouragement to the men and children alike as they deal with difficult questions about the reasons for and the anticipated duration of their separa-

tion. The program is facilitated by staff assigned to the State department of mental health, whose statistics on program effectiveness indicate that "one factor that contributes to getting out of prison is an inmate's strong ties to his family."

"Return and Reunion Program, Navy Family Services" (Norfolk, VA)—Military families must adjust to separations that may be frequent and prolonged. During the months that military fathers spend away from home, their children grow and change. Fathers may feel excluded from important phases of their child's development, even though mothers work hard to keep their husbands "emotionally present" in spite of their physical absence. One of the most striking adjustments of all occurs when a military wife gives birth during her husband's absence; the family then confronts the formidable task of forming new bonds almost instantly upon the father's return. This program is designed to ease the re-entry of Navy fathers (and other personnel) by sending a family service team out to ships that are about to return to port after prolonged deployment. Team members spend about ten days with crew members helping them talk about and prepare realistically for the transition back into family life. Meanwhile, back on shore, wives and children have access to family service workers as well, so that they, too, can prepare for reunion in ways that minimize stress and promote family unity.

None of these programs, it must be noted, are widespread. Nor do we want to suggest that there is a revolution underway in the responsiveness of American institutions to fathers. It is of no small significance that change is happening very slowly in the world of corporate America—the world in which so many men forge their identities in terms of the work they do, in which so many man-hours of time and energy are spent. Only a small number of employers make paternity leave available, and even fewer organizations are implementing other changes that might help fathers better balance their commitments to job and family.

The development and acceptance of initiatives that would allow or encourage fathers to be more involved in their families are bound to meet with resistances: in part, from institutions concerned with the conservation of limited resources, but even more so from strongly held attitudes and opinions about what is sex-role appropriate behavior for men and women. As a society, we don't allow much room for the fact—amply established today by Dr. Lamb and Dr. Yogman—that biology does not limit the capacity of fathers to care for their children. We don't offer much encouragement or support to fathers so that they can or will want to be more involved with their children.

The innovations we have described today may be few and far between at the present, but they are important nonetheless. They are evidence that small—and inexpensive—steps can be taken to reach out and meet the needs of some families. They provide new ways of strengthening the American family, in its many forms. And they show, we hope, that the need in our society is not just to ameliorate father absence, but to enhance father presence.

ABOUT THE FATHERHOOD PROJECT

The Fatherhood Project is a national research and demonstration project designed to encourage wider options for male involvement in childrearing. It was started in September 1981, with support from the Ford Foundation, Levi Strauss Foundation, Ittleson Foundation, and Rockefellar Family Fund.

Among its many activities, the Project:

Conducts research on fatherhood and social change;

Operates a national clearinghouse on fatherhood, which has already received over 7,000 requests for information;

Offers "Something Special for Dads—and Kids," a weekend group for fathers and their toddlers;

Offers "Boys and Girls and Babies," a course in baby care for 10 to 12 year-olds;

Sponsors a national series of Fatherhood Forums which began in New York City on Father's Day weekend 1983 and which will continue on Father's Day weekend 1984 in six other cities: Boston, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and San Francisco.

The Project staff is currently completing several publications:

The Future of Fatherhood, a "state of the nation" report on fatherhood and social change, schedulod for publication by New American Library in Spring 1985;

Fatherhood U.S.A., a comprehensive national guide to programs, services, and resources for and about fathers, scheduled for publication in Spring 1984 by Garland Publishing, Inc.;

Two manuals based on its demonstration programs: How to Start a Father-Child Group and How to Start a Baby Care Program for Boys and Girls, both scheduled for publication in Spring 1984.

The Fatherhood Project operates out of Bank Street College under the direction of James A. Levine and the management of Dr. Debra G. Klinman. Co-directors are Dr. Michael E. Lamb, Professor of Psychology, Psychiatry, and Pediatrics at the University of Utah, and Dr. Joseph H. Pleck, Director of the Program on Family and Work at the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you very much. And I am going to have to say we have got to go answer the bells again. Unfortunately I will not be able to return because I have to chair a Civil Rights Commission hearing at 1:30. I am spending my day in hearings. The other members will return as soon as the vote is over. I thank all of you for being here very sincerely.

[Recess.]

Mr. COATS [presiding]. With considerable apologies to our fourth panel we would like to call you back and do a couple of things.

One, we want to hear from Herman Heade. But second, we want to apologize on behalf of the committee to you, particularly because you are the ones who, as Dave Bahlmann said, are on the firing line delivering the services, transferring the research statistics into human terms, and dealing with humans with real problems, and perhaps we should have had this panel first. We tried to develop this in a logical progression leading up to the climax, but the congressional schedule, and the problems with running out of funding at midnight, have disrupted everything here, and so we apologize to you.

I am informed there will be another vote very shortly in the House of Representatives, so, Herman, I turn to you and hope that you can summarize your statement. We are anxious to hear what you have to say. If we do not have a lot of time for questions, again, we apologize.

STATEMENT OF REV. HERMAN HEADE, JR., NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF URBAN AFFAIRS AND CHURCH RELATIONS, PRISON FELLOWSHIP, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Reverend HEADE. Thank you, Congressman Coats.

I am not going to read my prepared statement. I think all of you have a copy of it. I just want to highlight three points.

Personally, I fall into every category that has been talked about here this morning. My parents were divorced when I was 2 years old, and I was raised by my father. I am from a community in Detroit that was known as Black Bottom. It was called Black Bottom because that is where all the black people lived, and it was the bottom economically.

And I want to focus on the impact of incarceration on children, incarceration of a parent, especially the father, the dramatic and lasting impact that is has on the children, because I, myself, through a long series of events spent 7 years of my life in prison. I was separated from my children through incarceration. By the time I was 19 years old I had three children. I had just returned from Vietnam, and I was certainly not equipped emotionally or mature enough to handle the responsibility of having three children. And my going to prison for 7 years certainly testifies to that.

But the three points I just want to touch on briefly are the impact of incarceration of the parent that it has on the children; the rate of incarceration for black males between the ages of 18 and 24. And the reason I selected that statistic is because it is double the national average, and because 50 percent of all families in black urban communities are single-parent homes, and these homes are usually headed by females. And last, I would like to just discuss a couple of things that I classify as alternatives to incarceration.

I am representing an organization called Prison Fellowship which was founded by a friend of yours, Congressman Coats, Chuck Colson. And although Prison Fellowship's activities focus primarily in administering to those who are in prison, we have become increasingly concerned about the plight of children and spouses who are left behind by men who are put in prison.

I am personally concerned about that. I have a son 19 years old. I have two grandchildren. And I have personally seen the impact that my own incarceration has had on my boy.

I want to call the committee's attention to what I think are some startling statistics. Seventy percent of all of the homicides committed in black urban communities are alcohol or drug related. The leading cause of death among young black males between the ages of 18 and 24 is black on black homicide, so you have sort of a double whammy. One man is dead and the other one is in prison, and normally the statistics do not reflect that man who has been killed when criminologists research these things.

So what do these statistics mean to this committee? I think that they clearly point out that one of the leading causes of what my fellow panel member called the absent parent concept is crime, particularly in the black community, incarceration, the criminal justice system.

I think that the criminal justice aspect of this impacts the black family more than any other single thing. When I went to prison, my children were babies, and after 7 years, after my release when I came home, I found it was very difficult for me to communicate. In fact, we were like strangers. There was a separation between us that the children did not understand, and I certainly did not know how to adequately cope with it. And, therefore, the years since I have been out we have sort of just drifted further apart.

But what I have tried to personally do about that is I have made several trips back and forth to Detroit in an effort to sit down with my ex-wife and talk about how can we both have an impact on the emotional development of our children. And to be quite frank, quite honest, really we did not come up with any solutions. It is just virtually impossible for me as a father to have an impact in the lives of my children if I am not there.

I think one of the things we need to think about when we talk about solutions or programs, Prison Fellowship finds that when a man goes to prison, the children and the spouses, they normally fall through the cracks. There is not much attention paid to them except that they are put on welfare or Aid to Dependent Children.

We think that something can be done about this, because here in the State of Virginia, 65 percent of all of the crimes committed, men who are incarcerated, have committed nonviolent offenses.

These men are in the corrections system for things like writing bad checks, stealing cars.

So I propose that, especially if a man has a family, if he has small children, if he writes a bad check, make him make restitution so he can stay with his family and they are not placed on welfare, and you do not have to spend $20,000 a year to keep him in the Richmond State Prison for writing a bad check. Utilize probation more, particularly where small children are involved.

One of the things we do at Prison Fellowship through our State directors is we are trying to get churches, Christian volunteers from churches all over the country, to work with the wives and the children of men who are in prison to facilitate transportation so that the mother of the children can go to the facility to visit the incarcerated father, take the family to their church for worship services and counseling so that at least the children and the mother have an opportunity to interact with their family units.

And I personally believe that States and the Federal prison system need to take a look at programs that will allow men to be furloughed or perhaps conjugal visting rights for married inmates, anything that is going to maintain the integrity of the family unit.

As a black man I am personally concerned about what I call self-inflicted genocide. Blacks make up only 12 or 13 percent of the population in the country, but they make up—they comprise 51 percent of the total prison population, which means that they are being incarcerated at the rate of 5 to 1—I am not sure about that statistic—but at something like 5 to 1 when compared to their white male counterparts.

[Prepared statement of Rev. Herman Heade follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF REV. HERMAN HEADE, OF PRISON FELLOWSHIP

POINTS TO MAKE AND FIVE MINUTE COMMENTS

1. Name and organization affiliation:
2. History:
a. Separated from children through incarceration;
b. Committed three violent acts;
c. Length of separation, seven years;
d. Reconciliation through the ministry of Prison Fellowship;
e. Work now doing with the ministry of Prison fellowship and past work with problematic children, (many of whom have absentee fathers), with the city's schools program in Washington, D.C.
3. Points to Make:
a. Incarceration of a parent, especially the father, has a traumatic and lasting impact on children;
b. The rate of incarceration for Black males between the ages of 18 and 24 has doubled the national average, which has to a great extent, a tremendous impact on the statistics that says "50 percent of all families living in Black urban communities are single-parent homes." These are usually homes headed by a female;
c. Discussion of alternative to incarceration for non-violent male offenders who head families; and this will include highlighting "Is There a Better Way" and giving copies to Committee members.

I am grateful for the opportunity to appear today to comment before your task force.

I am an ex-offender who's life has been changed by the power of Jesus Christ. I served time for my crimes, but it was the love and life of Christ which produced my conversion. Today I work with Prison Fellowship as National Director of Urban Affairs. Prison Fellowship is a Christian ministry which helps connect church resources across the country to minister the Gospel and reach out to the needs of pris-

offenders, ex-offenders and their families, and to work for a just and effective criminal justice system.

Although Prison Fellowship's activities are focused on ministering to those in prison, we have become increasingly concerned about the plight of children and spouses who are also victims of the criminal justice system left behind by the men who are incarcerated. I am pleased to appear today because that is a concern I personally fill as well.

I understand that this task force is focusing on the "absentee father" and the impact it has on the life of the children. I call the Committee's attention to some startling statistics that focus on absentee fathers from the urban community, which happens to be my particular area of expertise:

1. Fifty percent of all households in Black urban communities are headed by single parents;

2. Seventy percent of all homicides in the Black community are alcohol or drug related;

3. The leading cause of death among young black males between the ages of 18 and 24 is Black-on-Black homicide. This particular seems to have a double connotation. One young man is dead and the other is incarcerated. So you have two families actually with absentee fathers.

What do these statistics mean to this Committee? I think that they clearly point out that crime and incarceration is the leading cause of absentee fathers, specially in the younger age bracket in the urban community, a background of which I myself have come from.

After my graduation from high school, with a 3.5 grade average, I seriously considered an opportunity to apply for the mililtary academy at West Point. I was also invited to try out for professional baseball teams. However, as to realizing those dreams I ended up spending seven years of my life in a penitentiary.

When I was 18 years old, I enlisted into the U.S. Army and was promptly sent off to Southeast Asia in Vietnam. When I left to go to Vietnam, I already had a son who was two years old. The Vietnam situation did not have any immediate, visible impact upon my child or my wife. However, shortly after coming back I experienced a nervous breakdown and began to get involved with narcotics, alcohol abuse and other illegal activities, including bank robbery and armed robbery.

For these crimes I was sentenced to a total of 30 years in prison. I served seven years in two separate institutions, in both federal and state prisons. Seven years is a long time for a man to be separated from his children. And although I did not know the impact that it would have on their lives, I nonetheless attempted to be a father while actually being absent from the home, primarily through letters and visitations that my family would make to prison.

It did not take me very long to see that my wife did not have the control over the children, especially the boys, that I would have had if I had remained in the home. Let me go back for a moment and point out that between the time I came from Vietnam and went to prison, I was the father of three children, two boys and one girl. Not only had my children been deprived of a father through my illegal activities, but they were also immediately placed on the rolls for "Aid For Dependent Children," what we commonly know as "welfare."

While in prison my wife, for reasons that are obviously clear, decided that it would be to her best interest and the best interest of the children to divorce me. During this time I had committed my life to Jesus Christ and become a Christian. I also became actively involved with the Prison Fellowship ministry. I met Chuck Colson and was introduced to the ministry when he visited the prison which I was incarcerated in located in Oxford, Wisconsin. At that time we talked and I was offered a job with Prison Fellowship. Therefore, after my release I did not return to the Detroit area but instead came to Washington, D.C. It was during this time that I not only worked for Prison Fellowship but was also asked through a close friend to work with a program called "Cities and Schools," which at that time was being headed by President Carter's son, Chip. Many of these children too were from homes with absentee fathers, many of whom are serving time in correctional facilities close by at the Lorton prison facilities. I immediately began to see some of the same impacts of incarceration in their lives that I saw in the lives of my own children. It was through working with this program that I decided that even though I was in Washington, D.C. and my children were in Detroit, I would try in some way to have some influence or impact in their lives, especially since I have become a Christian and committed my life to Christ, and become a productive citizen in the community again.

I made several pilgrimages to Detroit and made an effort to sit down with my children, and just tried to get in touch with them after such a long absence. I found

that the boys had been brutally beaten and physically abused by a man that my ex-wife was living with while I was in prison. This had a tremendous impact on their personalities, and I found that they knew I was their father and they seemed to respect me, but there was no closeness in our relationship. My oldest boy had become involved in turancy and also some minor offenses as shoplifting and breaking and entering. Although he has never been convicted or has gone to prison I was very, very concerned that he would eventually end up incarcerated. Therefore, it seems to me that my absence from the home certainly was directly related to his behavior and the activity of my children today, simply because my ex-wife could not control them and they needed the discipline and attention of a father.

Let me underscore one point: I sincerely believe that because I committed violent offenses I should have went to prison. However, I do believe that the criminal justice system need to take a serious look at some alternatives to incarceration, especially for those men who have families. When we consider that in the state of Virginia alone, 65 percent of all of the incarcerated offenders are non-violent, it clearly points out that there are other means of dealing with them other than incarceration. For example, the man who writes a bad check should be sentenced to make restitution and pay back the person whose funds he used illegally for writing the bad check. The young man who steals a car should be allowed to make restitution or perform community services. Finally, probation is certainly an alternative to incarceration I believe can be used more effectively with a large percentage of our incarcerative offenders. This would accomplish two things:

1. It would allow a man with dependent children to remain in the home and support his family;

2. It would greatly relieve the criminal justice system of the tremendous financial burden that it now bears in having more people incarcerated than any other country in the world except South Africa and Russia.

Our present prison count today is 431,000 people, not counting those in county jails and juvenile facilities.

Prison Fellowship as an organization is very intricately involved with the families, the wives, the children of incarcerated Christian offenders. We have an extensive family ministry whereby volunteers from local churches visit families, write to them, call and offer prayer support. We even provide transportation for families to visit their incarcerated spouses. I believe that the criminal justice system must take a serious look at some ways in which it can help keep the family unit close while the man is serving time. Some states have tried such things conjugal visiting rights for married inmates and extended furloughs whereby the man can actually go to his home for a period of days.

I suggest to this Committee that you recommend very strongly that Christians become involved in prison ministry. Prison Fellowship has access of 15,000 volunteers that can help interested people find out how to do this. We can be reached at Post Office Box 40562, Washington, D.C. 20015. You should also challenge Christians and churches across the country to minister to the children and spouses of incarcerated fathers. They, too, are victims and they need to know that someone cares.

Thank you for the opportunity to present this testimony. I pray that you will have wisdom in your deliberations.

Mr. COATS. You heard the second bell, which means that we have to run again for a vote. Again, I apologize on behalf of the members of the committee for the interruption problems because of our funding votes to keep the Government operating.

Let me assure you that each of your statements will be part of the official record. We know who you are now. More importantly, you know who we are, and you know where we are. And we have developed a relationship that I think can be very valuable for the future. We welcome your suggestions as to how and where we should be involved.

We look to you for ideas as to how the private and the public sectors can work together to provide services for families and children of the single-parent family. So we hope that this is a beginning and not an ending, that we can work together to develop policies and highlight issues that are important to families.

38-869 O—94——9

I am not going to ask you to wait for us to come back again. Mrs. Johnson has another commitment. I have 100 students from my area who have been waiting for me for an hour. I know you have planes to catch and things to do.

We thank you very much for your testimony. I am very sorry to have to make you wait and particularly to cut you off here at the end. We are dictated by a system here that we cannot control.

Mrs. JOHNSON. Let me just thank you also and let you know that we are a close group in the Task Force, and we will certainly be talking with the other members of the Task Force about the quality of your comments. And I do appreciate your giving some examples of the kinds of programs that you see making a difference.

I would ask further one of the things that has interested me as I chair a task force on education. Maybe we should adopt one of the prime recommendations of the Nation at Risk report, one of the recommendations that has been more popular, which is a core curriculum. Then we are going to free up a lot of guidance counselor personnel who will no longer be doing academic scheduling.

Now, I realize that they are not very well trained in counseling in spite of the name of their jobs. But that would be personnel that could be used in a school system, and we could go so far as to have sort of obligatory things that kids participate in if their parents were being separated or if their parents were going through a divorce, if their parents were going to be incarcerated. We have them and there are all those hours. And the fact that as a society we are not looking straight at the issue of separation is preventing much of our education money from having very much impact at a time when kids really need it.

And so if you could give me, if you have any suggestions along that line, if you would know of any programs within school systems, if you have any thoughts about how we can better integrate United Way agency capabilities with our school systems.

And then just one concluding remark, I was very pleased to hear—and I have forgotten the name of your organization.

Reverend HEADE. Prison Fellowship.

Mrs. JOHNSON. I thought you were an advocacy organization within the prison system.

Reverend HEADE. Prison Fellowship is an international prison ministry.

Mrs. JOHNSON. I see. At any rate, we certainly ought to be looking much more thoughtfully at this in terms of the incarcerated population. The other thing that has involved me a great deal as a State senator was with the prerelease program, and we could be doing better along that line, too.

So I urge you to see this as the beginning of a dialog instead of as a somewhat frustrating presentation period.

Thank you.

Mr. WOLF. Reverend Heade, do you need to finish your statement? Mr. Coats said you had not finished or have you?

Reverend HEADE. I was on my last sentence when he stopped me, so I have pretty well summarized my testimony.

Mr. WOLF. I wanted to thank the panel for your testimonies. I think you have made several good points.

I had read your testimony before today's hearing and I hope that you will give us more recommendations about what we can do. You talked about the one program out in Minneapolis, another out in Washington State. That is all good, and it is good that we know about it.

But now we know about it. So what? What are we going to do about it? Congress does not always work very well. It is almost irrelevant sometimes in response to what is going on in the outer world.

We are now in the process of voting on the continuing resolution which we voted on about four or five times. The administration says it will be vetoed and the Government will be brought to a halt probably Monday, and everybody who is voting on it knows that, but yet we keep going through the same process without anything happening.

If we had spent all the time that we have spent—we are going to be in here until midnight tonight; we were in here until 9:30 last night—on working on the problems of the everyday, real problems that people are concerned with, we would be better off.

I want to commend the chairman and Mrs. Schroeder for their commitment today. Mrs. Schroeder is on three different committees and she spends a lot of time with this committee when she could be at so many other places. But many of the members here run in and out and are not focusing on the hearing because they have got other committee commitments.

My two other committees held hearings today which I did not attend. Members run in to get their names checked off so that they can show that they were there, and then they go on to the next one, ask some irrelevant question for 30 seconds, and then move on. This way when your opponent runs against you, he can see that you have been at all of your committee meetings, and cannot use bad attendance against you.

The point I am trying to make is that we are really looking to all of you for guidance and for some direction as to what we can do. We do not have very much expertise. We have even less time.

But there is the interest, I believe, by the members of this Task Force, on both sides of the aisle. This year has been a relatively nonpartisan effort except for one irrelevant meeting on the psychological impact of nuclear war which was an aberration. Most of the things that we have done have been very relevant and very bipartisan. There is a lot of good will here, and we hope that you will go back, reflect on the testimonies you've heard today and on your special insights and submit to us your ideas in writing. I would like to make sure that I have an opportunity to see this. Again, what are your ideas on what Congress can do; (1) for the well being of families to keep them well; and (2) for the families in which there has been a problem. How do we address these problems? And, last, educational programs were discussed that we can adopt here for young families just beginning. What can we do to make this a better country and help children with their self-esteem to feel better about themselves?

If you can give us individual recommendations, I can assure you that this committee will try to see what they can do to implement them or to put some moral force behind them.

And, again, I want to thank all of you so much.
[Whereupon, at 1:55 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]
[Material submitted for inclusion in the record follows:]

[Excerpt from Father Absence, Divorce, and Personality Development]

THERAPY AND PREVENTION

Since paternally deprived individuals are overrepresented among individuals with psychological problems, it is not surprising that they are found in abundance in the case reports of psychotherapists. Despite the lack of controlled research, there are many illuminating descriptions of how psychotherapists have attempted to help father-absent or inadequately fathered children. (e.g., Forrest, 1966, 1967; Green, 1974; Meerloo, 1956; Neubauer, 1960; Wylie & Delgado, 1959).

Glueck and Glueck (1950) reported that many delinquent boys who form a close relationship with a father surrogate resolve their antisocial tendencies. Trenaman (1952) found that young men who had been chronically delinquent while serving in the British army improved as a function of their relationships with father surrogates. A father-absent boy may be particularly responsive to a male therapist or role model because of his motivation for male companionship. Rexford (1964), in describing the treatment of young antisocial children, noted that therapists are more likely to be successful with father-absent boys than with boys who have strongly identified with an emotionally disturbed, criminal, or generally inadequate father.

There are many organizations, including Big Brothers, Y.M.C.A., Boy Scouts, athletic teams, camps, churches, and settlement houses that provide paternally deprived chidren with meaningful father surrogates. Additional professional consultation and more community support (especially more father surrogates), would allow these organizations to be of even greater benefit to many more children (Biller, 1974c; Brody, 1978; Jenkins, 1979).

Available research indicates that even in the first few years of life, the child's personality development can be very much influenced by the degree and type of involvement of a father or father surrogate. Group settings such as daycare centers can be used as vehicles to provide father surrogates for many children. The facilities of such organizations as Big Brothers and the Y.M.C.A. could also be utilized to help younger children.

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Our educational system could do much to mitigate the effects of paternal deprivation if more male teachers were available, particularly in nursery school, kindergarten, and the early elementary school grades. Competent and interpersonally able male teachers could facilitate the cognitive development of many children as well as contribute to their general social functioning (Biller, 1974a, 1974b; Sexton, 1969).

There is much need for greater incentives to encourage more males to become teachers of young children. There has to be more freedom and autonomy to innovate, as well as greater financial rewards. We must make both men and women aware of the impact that males can have in child development and the importance of male influence in the early years of the child's development.

Fathers and father surrogates can be made more knowledgeable about the significance of the father in child development through education and the mass media (Biller & Meredith, 1972, 1974). Such exposure, along with other programs, can lessen the number of families that become father absent. Explicit advantages such as financial and other support for fathers remaining with their families in contrast to the current rewarding of father absence by many welfare departments might do much to keep some families intact and reconstitute other families.

Preventive programs can focus on families that seem to have a high risk of becoming father absent. Systematic techniques can be developed to determine the potential consequences of father absence for a family that is considering separation or divorce. There are many families in which both the parents and the children would be able to function better subsequent to divorce. When the divorce process is taking place, more consideration should be given to whether all or some of the children might benefit from remaining with their fathers (Biller & Meredith, 1974). Data collected by Santrock and Warshack (1979) suggest that it may be advantageous for children whose parents divorce to live with the same-sex parent. It is usually easier to find mother surrogates (e.g., grandmothers, housekeepers) that fathers surrogates. It is also relevant to consider potential paternal effectiveness in placing children and with adoptive or foster parents. There is much evidence that fathers can

be just as effective parents as mothers can whether in a typical nuclear family or as single parents (Biller & Meredith, 1974; Walters, 1976).

Much more needs to be done to support continued father-child interactions in families in which the parents are divorced or in the process of becoming divorced (Biller & Meredith, 1974). Recent research has clearly indicated the benefits of frequent father-child contact when parents are divorced (Abarbanel, 1979; Keshet & Rosenthal, 1978; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). Furthermore, there is increasing evidence concerning the advantages for children (and parents) when a joint custody and/or shared parenting arrangement is put into effect (Abarbanel, 1979; Biller & Meredith, 1974; Greif, 1979; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978; Roman & Haddad, 1978; Rosenthal & Keshet, 1981; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a, 1980b).

Much of the recent research on the impact of divorce on various family members has emphasized that parents' difficulties in coping with their own needs may interfere with their adequacy in dealing with their children's distress (Hetherington, Cox & Cox, 1978; Wallerstein & Kely, 1980a, b). Parents in the one-parent family must not be neglected. For example, the mother's reaction to husband absence may greatly influence the extent to which father absence or lack of father availability affects her children. She is often in need of psychological as well as social and economic support. Mental health professionals have outlined many useful techniques for helping mothers and children in fatherless families (e.g., Baker et al., 1968; Despert, 1953; Hill, 1949; Jenkins, 1979; Jones, 1963; Klein, 1973; Lerner, 1954; McDermott, 1968; Weiss, 1975; Wylie & Delgado, 1959).

In a pilot project, one of the central goals of a welfare mothers' group was to help husbandless mothers deal constructively with their social and familial problems (Biller & Smith, 1972). Pollak (1970) discussed the frequent interpersonal and sexual problems of parents without partners and gave some excellent suggestions for helping such parents cope with their concerns. Educational and therapeutic groups such as Parents Without Partners can be very meaningful for the wifeless father as well as the husbandless mother (e.g., Egeland & Frank, 1961; Freudenthal, 1959; Jenkins, 1979; Schlesinger, 1966; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1977; Weiss, 1975).

A significant part of community mental health efforts, both in terms of prevention and treatment, should be to support fathers in being effective parents and to locate father surrogates for paternally deprived children. Far-reaching community, state, and government programs are needed. A vast number of children do not have consistent and meaningful contact with adult males. This very serious situation must be remedied if all our children are to take full advantage of their growing social and educational opportunities.

NATIONAL COLLABORATION FOR YOUTH,
Washington, D.C., March 5, 1984.

Hon. PATRICIA SCHROEDER,
Chairwoman, Task Force on Economic Security, Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, House Office Building, Annex 2, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN SCHROEDER: On November 10, 1983, I testified before the Economic Security Task Force of the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families on "Paternal Absence and Fathers' Roles."

Throughout much of the hearing, several committee members raised the issue of parenting skills—were there any programs or activities that stressed parenting skills.

In an effort to address this matter, I have gathered a small sample of some of the kinds of services and programs our agencies offer on parenting.

AMERICAN RED CROSS "PARENTING: YOUR CHILD FROM ONE TO SIX"

This course enables new parents to increase their ability and self-reliance in promoting the health, safety and growth and development of children; promoting family health; and preventing child abuse and neglect. The participants of this program may be parents, individuals who work with children up to six years of age, adoptive parents, grandparents, and secondary and college students. The Red Cross offers this course as part of its nationwide effort to "improve child health, to foster optimal childhood development, and, by 1990, to reduce deaths among children ages one to 14 by at least 20 percent, to fewer than 34 per 100,000."

CAMP FIRE, INC.

Camp Fire offers a segment in their Horizon program, for high school members, which focuses primarily on the choice of becoming a parent or not. The program offers a number of practice exercises and skills, covering issues such as: how do you feel about being a parent? Will all responsibilities of parenting be shared? What does it take to support a child? and many other similar questions.

GIRLS CLUBS OF AMERICA, INC.

In a recent survey of local Club programming, 82 percent of GCA member organizations provided services in the area of family life education, which would include education about the responsibilities of parenting and how to assess when and if you are ready to accept these responsibilities. A GCA-sponsored demonstration program for teenage mothers, funded by the Department of Labor Women's Bureau and conducted at the Pittsfield (MA) Girls Club in 1980 and 1981, resulted in a 1982 publication entitled, "Comprehensive Services for the Teenage Mother." This program guide, which has been disseminated to all GCA affiliates and has been sold to a variety of other youth organizations, contains information on how to include parenting education in such services. In this case, parenting education refers to child development and issues in child rearing.

UNITED NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS OF AMERICA, INC.

The United Neighborhood Centers of America has been involved for a long time in "parenting" programs. In the latter part of the 70's, UNCA concluded its role as a national coordinating agency for a Department of Health, Education and Welfare grant entitled, "Preparing Teenagers for Parenthood." The dominant theme of this program was that of helping youth from low-income families to acquire the knowledge and skills for intelligent decision-making as related to the family life cycle. The United Neighborhood Centers of America has continued to offer similar kinds of programs in their settlement houses.

YMCA OF THE U.S.A.

The YMCA offers several courses in many of their YMCAs. These programs include:

VITAL SIGNS OF FAMILY LIFE AND THE YMCA

Basis professional staff training which helps YMCAs evaluate policies and programs to impart family life and parenting.

POSITIVE PARENTING

Parent education program which emphasizes the skills of good parenting.

SCHOOL-AGE CHILD CARE

Includes parent education, training, and family programs.

HOME TEAM/FAMILY CONNECTION

Year-round family activity program, with emphasis on good parenting skills.

I hope this is useful to you. Should you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to call me at (215) 567-2748 or you may contact Karen Hendricks, staff of the National Collaboration for Youth, at 296-1515 in Washington.

Sincerely,

DAVID W. BAHLMANN,
Chair, National Collaboration for Youth,
and Executive Vice President,
Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America.

Education Institute

Robert Allender, Ed.D
Director

THE SINGLE-PARENT FAMILY

BY

Margaret Stolz
BB/BSA District III Director

&

The University Of Texas At Austin
School Of Social Work

BIG BROTHERS/BIG SISTERS OF AMERICA
117 South 17th St., Suite 1200, Philadelphia, PA 19103 (215) 567-2748

SINGLE PARENT FAMILY WORKSHOP

Important Facts:

- 20% of all children today, approximately 11 million, live in SPF.
- SPF is fastest growing family form in America.
- Overwhelmingly female-headed.
- Women are likely to be young, divorced or never married, and black.
- Less than 2% of all children live with father.
- Number of families headed by women under 30 has tripled since 1960.
- Main factor contributing to rapid growth of one-parent households is rising divorce rate.
- 60% of divorcing couples have children under 18 years of age.
- Annual number of children involved in divorce has exceeded one million since 1972.
- Second factor leading to SPF growth is number of children born to unwed mothers has tripled since 1960.
- Currently over one half of all black births and 8% of white births are out of wedlock (Levitan & Belous, 1981).
- Black children are more likely to live in a female headed household.
- In 1980, 50% of all black children under 18 lived in female headed households, while only 12% of all white children were being raised by a woman.
- The Hispanic child had 26% chance of living in this type of home.

Special Stresses of Single Parent Families

1. Economic Well-being.

- Poverty is present in 1 of 10 husband-wife families.
- Poverty is present in 1 of 9 families maintained by never-married, separated, divorced or widowed men.
- Poverty is present in 1 of 3 female headed families (Levitan & Belous, 1981)
- In 1978 less than 10% of female headed families earned incomes as high as $15,000. Compared to 60% of all husband-wife families.

- Change to a female headed household increased participation of white women in the labor force, but decreased participation of black. Health and education statistics explain the difference.

- Blacks are more likely to get physically demanding jobs and a wage rate 10% lower than that for white women. (National Longitudinal Study)

- Only one third of husbands provide support (U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1979).

2. Psychological Stresses

- There is a higher rate of anxiety and depression among single mothers than any other marital status group.

- Three hypotheses have been proposed to explain the positive relationship between stress and single parenthood:

  a. Social selection hypothesis - pre-existing personality deficiencies in the mother lead to emotional problems, divorce, and distress. Remedy is individual psycho-therapy.

  b. Social causation hypothesis - single mother is prevented from fulfilling role functions (breadwinner, parent housekeeper) due to environmental factors such as racism, sexism, role overload, and lack of community support. Remedy is to provide child care, income support, and job training.

  c. Lack of social support makes the single mother more vulnerable to stressful life events. Remedy is personal contacts through which the individual receives emotional support, concrete aid and services, access to new social contacts, and maintenance of a social identity.

- Besides economic hardships, role overload, and lack of support systems, the problem of authority in discipline may exist.

- Most problematic parent-child relationship after divorce appears to be mother-son (Hetherington, Cox & Cox, 1978).

- Important point: In single parent, female headed families, the mother is confronted by many stressors that may affect her social and psychological well-being. The way she copes and adapts to these stressors may be a determining factor in shaping the development of her children.

Psychological Risk of Children of Single Parents

Father Absence Literature. Of the 400 studies reviewed on father absence only 30 were methodologically sound.

- Recurrent finding was that family functioning and climate are more important than the number of parents a child has in the home.

- The review demonstrated that:

  1) the impact of growing up in a fatherless home is strongly affected by elements present before the father's absence;

  2) family functioning of present members (the mother's role and coping ability) is crucial;

  3) family functioning is determined not only by the individual characteristics and interactions of family members but also by the circumstances and environment of the family unit.

  Family variables were more important than the static variable "father absence"; socioeconomic status and personality traits were more significant than father absence. (Herzog & Sudia, 1973)

- A recent study (Hamblin & Hamblin, 1979) proved that a) family structure (i.e. intact, single parent, or reconstituted) would make no difference in children's self-concepts; and b) children who perceived greater conflict in their families would have significantly lower self-concepts.

- Another important finding was that for all children in the sample, the greater the perceived happiness of the parent(s) the higher the child's self-concept. The authors suggested that if we can equate "perceived happiness" with adequate functioning then the study offers support for Herzog and Sudia's (1973) conclusion that the functioning of the remaining parent was important in the child's adjustment.

- Offord, Abrams, Allen and Poushinsky, 1979, found support for the idea that parental functioning or personality problems which result in marital discord are important in producing delinquency and that the broken home per se is not the cause. The authors concluded that parental handicaps such as mental illness, criminality, and welfare history have their major effect in delinquency production in girls by contributing to marital discord which resulted in the broken home.

- (Shinn, 1978) This review suggests that financial hardship, high levels of anxiety and low levels of parent-child interaction were important causes of poor intellectual performance among children in single parent families.

- Time of separation and the reasons for separation are found by some researchers to be important factors in determining the effects of father absence on children. A higher incidence of delinquency, recidivism, and clinical problems are associated with separation due to divorce than with separation due to death (Hetherington, 1966; Nye 1957; Tuckman & Regan, 1966). Santrock, 1972, found that father absence due to divorce, desertion or separation had the most detrimental influence on both boys and girls when it occurred in the first two years of life.

- The research literature also indicates that for boys, father absence in the early years results in a less masculine orientation (Biller, 1969; Biller, 1974; Biller & Bahm, 1971). Blanchard and Biller (1971) found that the effects of psychological father absence (absence due to the father's attitude or career commitments) and physical father absence were similar. Paternal deprivation, physical and psychological, was related to deficient sex role development.

- The studies of sex role development in intact families do not support the conclusions of the father absence literature that fathers influence male sex role development. These studies have failed to find significant father-son similarity (Lamb, 1979). The only consistent finding is that the father's masculinity is correlated with the daughter's femininity.

- Male models may be present in father-absent homes and can replace the absent father.

Consequences of Divorce

Two classic studies of the 70's are:

a. The Hetherington, Cox and Cox (1976, 1978, 1979a, b) study.

b. The Wallerstein and Kelly (1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1980; and Kelly and Wallerstein, 1976) study.

- A major contribution of the Hetherington, Cox & Cox study is its description of the cycle of negative parent-child interaction that occurs in many families of divorce. The personal and emotional adjustment of the parents deteriorated in the year following the divorce. The mother-son relationship was found to be particularly problematic. The decline in the mother's parenting skills was associated with an increase in aggressive and undesirable behaviors in the son which produced increased coercive behavior in the mother. At the two year follow-up, the mother-son relationship was still problematic. Generalization from this study is limited because families were from a narrow range of demographic characteristics.

- Wallerstein and Kelly conducted their study in Marin County, California, with a sample consisting of 60 families with 131 children ranging in age from 3 - 18 years. These families were from a predominantly white, affluent community. Mothers had custody of all the children.

  A significant contribution of this research project was the delineation of the different outcomes for children of different ages or developmental levels. Preschoolers' reactions to divorce included regression, fretfulness, cognitive bewilderment, worry, and neediness.

- For the latency group the most enduring symptom was pervasive neediness. The initial reaction of the early latency group was pervasive sadness, intense strain, and immobilization.

- For the later latency group (age 9-10) the response was well-organized object directed anger. This anger lasted longer than any other affective response when measured at one year.

- With latency age children, feelings of shame emerged. They were ashamed of the implied rejection in the father's departure, making them feel unlovable. Half the early latency and later latency groups suffered a noticeable decline in school performance.

- Adolescents experienced great anger, sadness, a sense of betrayal by the parents, and intensely strong feelings of shame and embarrassment. In contrast to the latency and preschool aged child, they felt no responsibility for the parents' divorce. A common defense against the painful experience of the divorce was withdrawal and distancing. The degree of parental regression was directly related to poorer adjustment in the adolescents.

- At the five year follow-up, Wallerstein & Kelly reported 34% of the children had regained a sense of well being and self-confidence. Another 37% of the children were judged to be suffering from a moderate to severe depression which was manifested in a variety of behaviors including sexual promiscuity, delinquency in the form of drug abuse and stealing, alcoholism, chronic and pronounced unhappiness, poor learning, intense anger, and unremitting sadness. The remaining 29% had resumed appropriate developmental progress. However, even these children continued to experience intermittent feelings of sadness and resentment toward one or both parents.(See attached table from Wallerstein & Kelly.) This would indicate a sizable percentage of single parent family children who are in need of assistance and attention as a result of the divorce experience.

- Cashion, 1982 indicates that:

"Children respond to expectations. Mothers, teachers, and other involved adults should explore their expectations of children from female-headed families. Do adults expect these children to have problems at home and to fail in school? Or do adults expect these children to be happy and independent with good cognitive abilities and good verbal skills? Children will respond to adult expectations and will benefit from positive expectations.

"Major problems in these families stem from poverty and stigma. Stigma is associated with low self-esteem in children, and it results in defining the children as problems even when they don't have problems. It no doubt undermines the mother's sense of confidence as well. In order to counteract possible stigmatizing effects on these families, mothers need significant people in their lives who will not be pessimistic about the success of a single parent. Support groups of single mothers who are confident can provide ideas, suggestions and encouragement. They can negate the pessimism and stigma that others may provide. Single mothers can serve as role models for each other and they can build confidence where confidence is lacking.

"Most important, perhaps, is that the mother of a female-headed family, her children, and others working with the family, develop confidence in female-headed families and the woman's ability to be a competent head of her family. The research indicates that the majority of families, when not plagued by poverty, are as successful as two-parent families. Problems are often not so much psychological as they are transitional. The expected outcome of this transition is a successful family."

Due to the mixed results of the father absence literature, no broad generalization can be made about absent parents' effect on children. Additional research is needed to better determine what risks children from single parent families may encounter. The number of increasing single parent families and the percentage of children living with both natural parents are matters of deep concern to our society. The task of evaluating these changes has proven elusive. It is difficult to weigh and measure all of the complex variables.

In summary, when working with the single parent family, especially poverty level families, we cannot disregard the social, political, and economic factors which affect them. We must be aware of the cultural and structural adaptations of the poverty level families and not attempt to push them toward middle-class family forms and values. We must also pay attention to the social network and the family's ability to connect with sources of support outside the family such as neighbors, friends, schools, churches, etc.

CHARACTERISTIC REACTIONS OF CHILDREN TO DIVORCE
FINDINGS OF THE WALLERSTEIN AND KELLY STUDY

1) One Year Follow-Up

Characteristic Reactions to Divorce

Preschool 2½ - 6 years N = 34	Preschool children were frightened, confused, and blamed themselves. There was a great need for physical contact with adults. Children expressed fears of being sent away or being replaced. Only 5- and 6-year-olds were able to express feelings and to understand some of the divorce-related changes (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1975).
Early Latency 7 - 8 years N = 26	Children expressed feelings of sadness and loss, fear and insecurity. They felt abandoned and rejected, although they did not blame themselves. They had difficulty in expressing their anger toward their fathers. They felt angry at their mothers for sending the fathers away, but were afraid of incurring their mothers' wrath. They held an intense desire for the reconciliation of their parents, believing that the family was "necessary for their safety and continued growth" (Kelly and Wallerstein, 1976).
Later Latency 9 - 11 years N = 31	Later latency children had a more realistic understanding of divorce and were better able to express their feelings of intense anger. They did not feel responsible for the divorce, but were ashamed and morally outraged by their parents' behavior. Their loyalties were divided between the parents and they frequently felt lonely and rejected. They used age-appropriate coping mechanisms including a conscious layering of psychological functioning (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1976).
Adolescence 12 - 18 years N = 21	Adolescents were the most openly upset by the divorce. They expressed strong feelings of anger, sadness, shame and embarrassment. Divorce forced the adolescents to see their parents as individuals and to reassess their relationships with each parent. They also re-examined their own values and concepts about what is a good marital relationship. Most were able to disengage themselves from their parents' conflict by a year following the divorce (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1974).

2) Five-Year Follow-Up

101 children - 34 per cent of children are happy and thriving, 29 per cent are doing reasonably well, and 37 per cent are depressed (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1980).

Source: Adapted from an original table in Longfellow (1979, Table 17-3 p. 301).

THE SINGLE PARENT FAMILY

GROUP EXERCISE I

Rules for the Session:

1. Encourage participants to speak out, express ideas spontaneously, and to contribute "wild" ideas as well as those they feel are practical and realistic.

2. No critical review of ideas during the brainstorming.

3. After the brainstorming, review and discuss all ideas recorded. After the session, the list of "problems" can be ranked in the order of priority (seriousness) by the group.

Discussion Session:

Divide the larger group into small groups of 5-6 participants. Using the categories listed below the group should develop a list of the negative aspects of single parent families.

Concrete/Practical

Parenting/Familial

Personal/Psychological

Community

After completing the first task, the group should then develop a list of the positive aspects of single parent families.

The leader can get the group started by giving an example: a problem identified was finances and budgeting. The opposite or positive aspect is being able to decide on your own, without having to negotiate with another person, how to spend the income.

Note: It may be advisable to have someone other than the leader act as recorder for the brainstorming session and the small group discussion when it reconvenes in the larger group. The leader is then freed to facilitate the discussion. It may be useful to have more than one recorder if comments come rapidly.

Allow the groups 20-30 minutes to go through this exercise and develop the two lists. The leader should then bring the entire group back together and utilize a flip chart or chalkboard to list the four categories and develop a list for the entire group of negative and positive aspects of single parent families. The attached list from Schlesinger material may be used by the leader as a reference, if some things have been overlooked by participants.

- 8 -

One-Parent Families: Problems and Positive Factors

From an examination of existing studies, Schlesinger (1980) developed an outline of the problems and positive factors related to one-parent families.

A. Problems Facing One-Parent Families

(a) Concrete and Practical
Finances, housing, legal, employment (part-time work), child minding facilities, transport, baby-sitting costs, budgeting, home maintenance.

(b) Personal
Stigma, prejudice, loneliness, limited social and sexual life, emotional problems, physical and mental health affected, decision-making on your own, tiredness if you work, a "threat" to shaky marriages, friends leave you or take sides.

(c) Parent-Child Relations
Child has only one model at home, lack of femininity/masculinity at home, child has only one parent to relate to in discipline, lack of validation, the school does not understand children as "missing adult" in family, over protection of children, only one source of affection for children.

(d) Psychological Aspects
Feelings of guilt, blame, a low self-image, insecurity, isolation, to overdo parenting and to attempt to be father and mother although you are only one parent, a sense of failure, living with the negative past and not looking ahead.

(e) Communal Aspects
Lack of community supports, suspicion of being a sole-parent. Since you failed in marriage you are "punished". You are "easy game" if you are a sole-parent female.

(f) Familial Aspects
Lack of extended family support. Blurring of generational boundaries.

B. Positive Aspects of One-Parent Families

(a) Concrete and Practical
Regular financial income, and you decide how to spend it. You can devote your time to child rearing or decide if possible to work part or full time.

(b) Personal
There is peace in the home, coping emotionally since there is less strain and stress, no harassment from spouse, regain self-confidence, join self-help groups of sole-parents. May find another suitable partner or friend.

3.

(c) Parent-Child Relations
No contradiction in raising children. Children appear more settled after previous conflicts. Treat children more as companions.

(d) Psychological Aspects
You can raise your own consciousness. Not a shadow of your partner but a unique individual. Find tremendous strengths which were dormant previously. Develop your creativity and capabilities by undertaking new ventures such as educational, vocational, or other practical training.

(e) Communal Aspects
You join self-help groups and feel wanted. You join communal activities as a "person" not as a solo-parent. Social Agencies are of help to the one-parent family.

(f) Familial Aspects
You begin to have closer familial ties with the extended family. They can help parent the children.

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Participant's Material

THE SINGLE PARENT FAMILY

Goals and Objectives

The goals and objectives of this session of the workshop are:

1. To present information on the characteristics of single-parent families in order to develop awareness of their heterogeneity and to recognize the dangers of stereotyping these families.

2. To review the literature on the social and emotional adjustment of children in one-parent families and to assess the implications for practice.

3. To identify the strengths and weaknesses of single-parent families in order to develop assessment skills.

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THE SINGLE PARENT FAMILY

Pamela Durst

Although the label "single-parent family" describes the structure of the household, it has tended to blur the diversity among these families. Single parents are not a homogeneous group. They exist in all social classes, among all racial and ethnic groups, and in age groups from under 15 to over 70 (Mendes, 1979). They become single parents through divorce, separations, desertions, deaths, out-of-wedlock births, incarcerations, hospitalizations, military service, out-of-town employment or single-parent adoptions. The one-parent status may be transitional or permanent.

The purpose of this lecture is to present information on the characteristics and functioning of single-parent families with an emphasis on their heterogeneity and viability as "healthy" family systems. The lecture material is presented in the response to the following five questions:

(1) How many children in the United States are living with one parent?

(2) Who are these single-parent families?

(3) What are the special stresses in single-parent families?

(4) Are children with one parent at psychological risk?

(5) What can be done to help meet the special needs of these families?

Three major assumptions should be made explicit which form the conceptual framework of this lecture. The first is that the family is the primary nurturing and socialization unit for meeting the needs of children. Second, the composition of the family (intact, single-parent or reconstituted) is not the most important descriptive characteristic. Family processes rather than family form should be the focus of our attention. Third, children's needs cannot be met without meeting the needs of the family; the family is the unit for intervention.

How many children in the United States are living with One-parent?

Almost 20% of all children today, approximately 11 million, live in a one-parent family. The single-parent family is the fastest growing family form in America. The living arrangements for children under eighteen in the United States in 1979 are shown in Table 1. The contrasts for very young children and for blacks are noteworthy.

Who are these single-parent families?

These families are overwhelmingly female headed. The women maintaining these families are more likely to be young, to be divorced or never married, and to be black.

The number of families headed by women has increased dramatically over the last 20 years, from 4.5 million in 1960 to 8.5 million in 1979. The proportion of all children living with their father has remained small, less than 2%. The number of families headed by women under 35 has more than tripled since 1960. At present they constitute more than a third of all female-headed families.

The main factor which has contributed to the rapid growth of one-parent households is the rising divorce rate in the United States. In the period from 1970 to 1979, the number of children living with a divorced mother doubled. (Mothers are awarded custody of the children in 90% of all cases.) The annual number of divorces has exceeded one million since 1975; approximately 60% of divorcing couples have children under 18 years of age. The annual number of children involved in parental divorce has exceeded one million since 1972. Thus, the number of children who are products of divorce is at an all time high (Glick, 1979; Spanier & Glick 1981).

According to 1979 statistics, Dallas-Fort Worth and Houston had the highest divorce rate in the country, 8.2 divorces for every 1,000 persons; Austin was close with 8 per 1,000. A comparison of divorce rates among the 25 largest standard metropolitan statistical areas showed that the 12 highest rates were situated in Southern or Western states. The 13 lowest rates were in the Northeast and Middle West (Austin American Statesman, 1981).

Divorce is not the only factor leading to the growth of single-parent families. The number of children born to unwed mothers has tripled since 1960. They account for nearly 3% of all children under age 18. Currently over half of all black births and 8% of white births are out of wedlock (Levitan & Belous, 1981).

Black children are more likely to live in a female-headed home than white children. In 1980, approximately half of all black children under age 18 lived in a female-headed household, while only 12% of all white children were being raised by a woman. An Hispanic child had a 20% chance of living in this type of home in 1980 (Levitan & Belous, 1981).

What are the special stresses in single-parent families?

Economic Realities. A major difference (and one easy to quantify)

TABLE 1

Living Arrangements of Children Under Age Eighteen in the United States, 1979

Living Arrangements	% for all children under 18	% for all black children under 18	% for all children under 6	% change for all children under 18 1970-1979
2 parents	77.4	43.4	78.9	-18.1
1 parent	18.5	44.0	15.7	40.6
mother only	16.9	41.9	14.7	41.3
father only	1.6	2.1	0	33.5
Neither parent	4.1	12.5	5.4	10.6
TOTAL NO.	62,389,000	9,285,000	18,584,000	-11.5

Source: Based on U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Marital Status and Living Arrangements, March, 1979, "Current Population Reports, Series P20, no. 349 (Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979) Table 4, and "Marital Status and Family Status, March, 1979, "Current Population Reports Series P20, no. 198 (Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), Table 4.

between female-headed and husband-wife households is economic well-being. There is a higher incidence of poverty among female-headed families. Poverty is present in only 1 of 19 husband-wife families; 1 of 9 families maintained by never married, separated, divorced or widowed men; but in 1 of 3 female-headed families. The income distribution of female-headed families is skewed toward the low end of the spectrum (Levitan & Belous, 1981).

In 1978, less than 19% of female-headed families had earned incomes as high as $15,000. This compared with more than 60% of all husband-wife families and 48% of families headed by men.

The National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) has given us important information about female-headed families. The survey included interviews with a nationally representative sample of over 5,000 women; one group under 25 years of age and another group between 30 to 44 years of age at the time of the first interviews in 1967 and 1968. The women were followed for 10 years. The survey found that the transition from husband-wife to female-headed unit creates serious economic problems. The average income for whites declined 49% while that for blacks fell 38%. For the younger cohort, the group most likely to have young children, household income fell by 60% for whites and 58% for blacks.

The survey found that the change to a female-headed household increased labor force participation by white women, but decreased participation for blacks. Health and education statistics helped to explain the differences. Almost two-thirds of black female-heads in the sample had not completed high school compared to one-third of the white women. Black women had more difficulty landing the better paying jobs. They also had a greater chance of having a serious health problem--one in three blacks and one in six for whites. (Health problems are more prevalent among women heading families than among the rest of the adult female population).

The NLS data indicated that blacks are more likely to be relegated to the physically demanding jobs and black women can expect a wage rate 10% lower than that for white women.

Female-headed families in the sample depended more upon transfer payments than other types of families. About 16% of all white female-headed families and 48% of all black female-headed units received AFDC or other Public Welfare payments.

The NLS data found that over a five year period 50% of white female-heads who did not remarry were in poverty for at least one year. For black-heads who did not remarry, 40% were in poverty for at least one year.

Cross-sectional data from the Current Population Survey back up these findings concerning economic hardship. If a white woman is not a family head, her chances of living in poverty (which was $7,400 or under for a family of four in 1980) are less than 1 in 20. If she becomes a family head, her chances of living in destitution rise to nearly one of four. Even if a black woman is not a family head, her chances of living in poverty are about one of four, but if she heads a family, they exceed one of two (Levitan & Belous, 1981).

The Economic Situation of Divorced Families. Divorce leads to a significant drop in income for women. Hoffman (1977) suggested that the drop may be as much as 30%. The drop in income for women is due to several factors. First, only about one-third of husbands provide support (U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1979). Many have not been ordered by the courts to pay child support or when ordered have failed to do so. The drop in income is also attributed to lack of education which often confines women to low paying jobs. Also, divorce occurs more often in poorer families (Brandwein, Brown, & Fox, 1974, Espenshade, 1979).

Few studies have investigated the impact of economic factors on family functioning after divorce. Even when the question is studied researchers often use different indices of economic situation so that results are not comparable. Measures of economic well being which are based on income or level of child support may not be accurate if assets such as savings and homes are not considered. Perception of financial stress rather than actual income may be a more important predictor.

Psychological Stress. There is a positive relationship between single motherhood and psychological distress. Epidemiological surveys indicate that these women have higher rates of anxiety and depression than any other marital status group (Radloff and Rae, 1979; Guttentag and Salzin, 1977). The utilization rates for children under six in one-parent homes is four times as great as that of children in two-parent homes. Kalter (1977) and Kalter and Rembar (1981) found a higher rate of delinquency and depression among children of divorce than among children from intact families in clinical populations.

Three hypotheses have been proposed to explain the positive relationship between stress and single parenthood. The social selection hypothesis proposes that pre-existing personality deficiencies in the mother lead to emotional problems, divorce, and distress; individual psychotherapy is called for. The social causation hypothesis argues that the single mother is prevented from fulfilling role functions (breadwinner, parent, housekeeper) due to environmental factors such as racism, sexism, role overload, and lack of community support. The remedy is to provide increased social services such as child care, income supports, and job training. The third hypothesis views single mothers as more vulnerable to stressful life events and everyday strain due to lack of social supports. Social supports may be defined as a set of personal contacts through which the individual receives emotional support, concrete aid and services, access to new social contacts and maintenance of a social identity.

Besides economic hardships, role overload, and lack of support systems, the problem of authority in discipline may exist (Brandwein, Brown & Fox, 1974). Children view fathers as more powerful and they exhibit less deviant and noncompliant behavior toward fathers. The single mother lacks validation from our culture and from the presence of another adult in the house. She must be superwoman to counter the image of greater power and authority which our society has vested in males. The most problematic parent-child relationships after divorce appear to be mother-son (Hetherington, Cox & Cox, 1978).

The point which should be emphasized is that in single-parent, female-headed families, the mother is confronted by many stresses that may affect her social and psychological well-being. Because she carries the salient parental role, the way she copes and adapts to these stressors may be a determining factor in shaping the development of her children.

Are children with one parent at psychological risk?

Four decades of research on the single-parent family have not provided a decisive answer to whether a child reared by one parent is at risk for psychological maladjustment (Cashion, 1982 and Blechman, 1982).

The Father Absence Literature. Initially, the assumption was that a single variable, father absence, was the determining factor in producing maladjustment in children. A deficit model was applied; only negative outcomes were researched. Fatherless families deserved study because they were deviant.

Herzog and Sudia (1973) reviewed 400 studies on father absence reported in the literature before 1968. These studies linked father absence to child outcomes such as juvenile delinquency, lowered intellectual and psycho-social functioning, inappropriate sex role identity, and mental illness. Herzog and Sudia noted that the majority of the studies failed to distinguish the cause of father absence (death, divorce, desertion, other), the duration or degree of father absence (temporary or permanent), and the child's age when separation occurred.

Of these 400 studies on father absence only 60 were felt to be methodologically sound. Of these 60 studies, 24 supported the view that father absence leads to pathological outcomes in child behavior. This view was challenged by 19 studies and 16 had mixed conclusions. The recurrent finding of their review was that when family functioning and climate are analyzed, they are more important than the number of parents a child has in the home. The review demonstrated that: (1) the impact of growing up in a fatherless home is strongly affected by elements present before the father's absence; (2) family functioning of present members (the mother's role and coping ability) is crucial; and (3) family functioning is determined not only by the individual characteristics and interactions of family members but also by the circumstances and environment of the family unit. Family variables were more important than the static variable "father absence;" socioeconomic status and community traits were more significant than father absence.

Other recent studies supported the conclusions of Herzog and Sudia's (1973) review that factors present before the paternal absence were crucial in explaining the child's adjustment. Raschke and Raschke (1979) studied the differences in family structure and family conflict in their effects on children's self-concepts. The sample was taken from children in grades three, six, and eight. The authors hypothesized that family structure (i.e., intact, single-parent, or reconstituted) would make no difference in children's self-concepts. The second hypothesis was that children who perceived greater conflict in their families would have significantly lower self-concepts. Both hypotheses were supported. Also age, sex, race, and number of siblings were not related to self-concept

in this study. Another important finding was that for all children in the sample, the greater the perceived happiness of the parent(s) the higher the child's self-concept. The authors suggested that if we can equate "perceived happiness" with adequate functioning then the study offers support for Herzog and Sudia's (1973) conclusion that the functioning of the remaining parent was important in the child's adjustment.

One possible source of invalidity in the study is that in the single-parent family there is no second adult with whom to have conflict so children in these homes should perceive less conflict between adults. Another is the questionable accuracy in reporting family type (whether they were intact or reconstituted) by the children.

Offord, Abrams, Allen, and Poushinsky (1979) found support for the idea that parental functioning or personality problems which result in marital discord are important in producing delinquency and that the broken home per se is not the cause. The authors compared 59 families with delinquent daughters with 59 families with daughters the same age who were not delinquent. They focused on the variables of broken home, parental psychiatric disorder, and family size as causes of delinquency. The authors concluded that parental handicaps such as mental illness, criminality, and welfare history have their major effect in delinquency production in girls by contributing to marital discord which resulted in the broken home.

Cashion (1982) has reviewed the psychological research pertaining to female-headed families published between 1976-1980. Her review supports the conclusion that children in female-headed families may not experience lowered self-esteem.

Shinn (1978) reviewed 58 studies which investigated the association between father absence and children's cognitive development. Of these studies 75% were not included in Herzog and Sudia's review. Only 30 studies met the minimal criteria for analysis: (1) the use of a non-clinical population, (2) the use of a control group, and (3) efforts to control for SES. Shinn examined the differential effects associated with characteristics of the absence (cause, duration, onset).

The author stated that no definitive conclusions could be reached about the relationship between onset of father absence and children's cognitive skills since effects associated with different onset ages failed to reach statistical significance in most studies. Also, few studies included absences beginning after age 12 in their comparisons. The evidence was inconclusive that longer absences have greater effects.

The detrimental effects of father absence on children's cognitive development were stronger for father absence due to divorce when the reasons for the absence were compared. Shinn concluded that the effects of father absence varied less with the subjects' characteristics (age, sex, race) than with the type of absence. SES was considered to be the most important moderating variable.

The review by Shinn suggested that financial hardship, high levels of anxiety and low levels of parent-child interaction were important

causes of poor intellectual performance among children in single-parent families. Shinn's review, like that of Herzog and Sudia, recognized that father absence cannot be considered a unitary variable. Researchers need to look at the cause, onset, duration and degree of father absence as well as qualities of the single-parent family.

Time of separation and the reason for separation are found by some researchers to be important factors in determining the effects of father absence on children. Generally, separation before age five is seen as more disruptive than later separation; divorce is seen as more disruptive than other causes of father absence. A higher incidence of delinquency, recidivism, and clinical problems are associated with separation due to divorce than with separation due to death (Hetherington, 1966; Nye, 1957; Tuckman & Regan, 1966). Santrock (1972) found that father absence due to divorce, desertion or separation had the most detrimental influence on both boys and girls when it occurred in the first two years of life.

The research literature also indicates that for boys, father absence in the early years results in a less masculine orientation (Biller, 1969; Biller, 1974; Biller and Bahm, 1971). Blanchard and Biller (1971) found that the effects of psychological father absence (absence due to the father's attitude or career commitments) and physical father absence were similar. Paternal deprivation, physical and psychological, was related to deficient sex role development.

However, the studies of sex role development in intact families do not support the conclusions of the father absence literature that fathers influence male sex role development. These studies have failed to find significant father-son similarity (Lamb, 1979). The only consistent finding is that the father's masculinity is correlated with the daughter's femininity. It appeared that the father's nurturance was an important factor in predicting the son's masculinity. Fathers are salient models not just because they are masculine but because there is an affective relationship.

Father absent families cannot be considered homogeneous. Male models may be present in father absent homes. Santrock (1971) reported that father absent boys with a male model were more independent and higher in masculine characteristics than boys with no male models. Mendes (1979) identified five types of single parent families. In some of these families, other male models replaced the absent father. In others, the noncustodial father still played a central parenting role after divorce. (See Table 2) In addition, Hurst (1980) described five types of parenting systems in postdivorce families in which noncustodial fathers played a variety of roles. (See Table 3)

The Consequences of Divorce. Since divorce is currently the major factor in the growing number of single-parent families, and because it has been seen as more disruptive than other causes of father absence, the two classic studies of the 1970's will be reported.

The two most influential studies of divorce began in the early 1970's. The Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1976, 1978, 1979a, b) study employed a very sophisticated multimethod, multimeasure design similar to the best studies of the father absence research. Wallerstein and Kelly (1974, 1975, 1976, 1977,

TABLE 2

LIFE STYLES OF SINGLE-PARENTS

Mendes (1979) delineated five distinct life styles of single-parent families which are described below

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Type I - The "sole executive" is a unit where the single parent is the only parental figure actively involved in the lives of the children. This often occurs where the father has died.

Type II - The "auxillary parent" is a unit in which the single parent shares one or more parental responsibilities with an auxillary parent who does not live with the family. An example would be a postdivorce family in which mother has custody and father has visiting rights.

Type III - The "unrelated substitute" is a family in which the single parent shares one or more parental functions with a person who is not related to the family and who may or may not live with them. An example would be a family with a live-in housekeeper who is like a mother to the children.

Type IV - The "related substitute" is a blood or legal relative who assumes a parental role, although he or she is not the parent of the children. This function is often assumed by grandparents, aunts, uncles or siblings.

Type V - The "titular parent" is the single parent who lives with the children, but has in effect abdicated the parental role. Examples are parents who are alcoholics, drug addicts, or actively psychotic.

TABLE 3

POSTDIVORCE FAMILIES:

A TYPOLOGY OF PARENTING SYSTEMS

Type I: Mother and Nonparent Father.

The label for Type I derives from the fact that the father in these families had never entered the parenting role. The mother performed the parenting functions after divorce and had been the primary parent since the birth of the child. The fathers' contacts with their children were infrequent and never predictable (usually less than two days per month).

Type II: Mother and Friend Father:

A second type of father was also disengaged from his children. However, before the divorce he had participated in child care responsibilities and had maintained a fixed schedule of visiting for a period after the divorce. Currently, the frequency of contacts fluctuated. Typically, visits were two to three days per month. A distinguishing characteristic of this type of postdivorce family was the open and caring relationship between the former spouses. Their relationships were based on common interests, past history, and mutual affection, rather than a commitment to the shared parenting of the children.

Type III: Mother and Restricted Father:

This type fit the commonly held stereotype of postdivorce families, involving a court-ordered every-other weekend visiting schedule, considerable hostility between ex-spouses and low communication. The parental role of the father was ambiguous. He was a part-time parent every-other-weekend engaging in caretaking and discipline. Fathers were dissatisfied with the situation; they wanted more time with their children. Mothers wanted to restrict the father's access to the children.

Type IV: Timesharing Parents.

The fourth type of postdivorce family was distinguished by an approximately equal sharing of the children in terms of time, but a lack of shared decision-making and a low level of communication about the children. Each parent functioned as a "sole-custodian" when the children were with him or her.

Type V: Coparents.

Although some Type IV parents called themselves coparents, their arrangements had a rigidity that was not present in Type V families. These ex-spouses considered themselves partners in parenting. Decisions about the children were made jointly; neither parent felt more dominant or powerful than the other. Communication between the parents was open and frequent; their relationship had been redefined into a cooperative relationship concerned only with parental functioning.

1980; and Kelly and Wallerstein, 1976) applied the perspective and methods of clinical research to the study of a nonclinical population of children. These two research projects have the following commonalities although one is a quasi-experimental design and the other clinical in approach. Both studies focused on the impact of divorce on a nonclinical population. The studies gathered initial data near the time of separation and divorce and employed longitudinal designs. They studied the family as a unit and gathered direct information from the children and their families as well as schools. The focus of each study was on family processes. Even though their approaches differed, their key findings are corroborative.

Hetherington, Cox, and Cox conducted a two year study of divorcing parents and their children. Their sample consisted of 48 white, middle class families with a preschool child and a matched sample of 48 intact families with a preschool child of the same age and sex as the target child in the divorced family. Data were obtained through interviews with parents, structured diary records, laboratory and home observations of parent-child interactions, observation of child-teacher interactions and child-peer interactions in school, checklists and ratings of child behavior by parents and teachers, and personality tests and self report ratings by parents. Data was collected at two months, one year and two years following divorce.

A major contribution of the study is its description of the cycle of negative parent-child interaction that occurs in many families of divorce. The personal and emotional adjustment of the parents deteriorated in the year following the divorce. These parents made fewer maturity demands, communicated less well, tended to be less affectionate, and showed marked inconsistency in discipline and control of their children in comparison to married parents. This pattern of behavior was curvilinear--parental behavior was least effective at one year after the divorce but showed a marked increase in effectiveness by two years--although divorced parents never gained as much control of their children as the control group of married parents. The mother-son relationship was found to be particularly problematic. The decline in the mother's parenting skills was associated with an increase in aggressive and undesireable behaviors in the son which produced increased coercive behavior in the mother. This ineffective style of parenting not only increased the son's negative behavior, but increased the mother's feelings of helplessness and incompetence. At the two year follow-up, the mother-son relationship was still problematic. Disruptions in the social and emotional development of girls had primarily disappeared by two years after the divorce.

The findings of Hetherington et al. emphasize the importance of continued contact with the noncustodial parent. Frequent visitation by the father was associated with positive adjustment of the child and positive mother-child interactions when (1) divorced parents agreed about child rearing, (2) had positive attitudes toward each other, and (3) were low in conflict, and when (4) the father was emotionally mature.

The generalizability of this study is limited in that the families were from a very narrow range of demographic characteristics, especially the limited age range of the children (age four at the time of divorce). However, because the study employed a matched comparison group and used

replicable instruments (many previously standardized) it allows us to draw firm conclusions about the impact of divorce on children and the parent-child relationship for this particular population.

Wallerstein and Kelly conducted their study in Marin County, California. The project combined research on divorce with research on the effectiveness of an experimental intervention program. The sample consisted of 60 families with 131 children ranging in age from 3-18 years. These families were from a predominantly white, affluent community. Mothers had custody of all the children. The families were referred to the project by school psychologists, teachers, attorneys and other sources. Six weeks of counseling were offered to parents and their children. The intervention was brief, child focused, and preventive. Clinical interviews were carried out at the time of parental separation, one year and four years later.

A significant contribution of this research project was the delineation of the different outcomes for children of different ages or developmental levels. Preschoolers' reactions to divorce included regression, fretfulness, cognitive bewilderment, worry, and neediness. The most enduring symptom of the early latency group was pervasive neediness. The initial reaction of the early latency group was pervasive sadness, intense strain and immobilization. In the later latency group (age 9-10) the response was well organized and object directed anger. This anger lasted longer than any other affective response when measured at one year.

At the one year follow-up, 46% of the preschool group, 36% of the early latency group and 50% of the later latency group showed consolidation of the problematic behaviors observed earlier or were judged to be in worsened psychological condition. This decline in the preschool children seemed linked to the problems of the custodial parent during the postseparation year or to unremitting anger between the divorcing parents which encompassed the child.

The latency age children were more sophisticated and mature in their grasp of time and reality. Therefore, they were better able to comprehend the meanings and consequences of the divorce. Feelings of shame emerged specifically with this age group. They were ashamed of the implied rejection in the father's departure, making them feel unlovable. The younger latency aged children were immobilized by the family disruption, but the later latency group was spurred into organized activity. Half of the early latency and later latency groups suffered a noticeable decline in school performance. The later latency group (unlike the early latency group) also suffered a serious deterioration in their peer relationships during and after the parental separation. Amongst all the children (both in the improved and unimproved group), only a few were able to maintain good relationships with both parents one year after the divorce.

Adolescents experienced great anger, sadness, a sense of betrayal by the parents, and intensely strong feelings of shame and embarrassment. In contrast to the latency and preschool aged child, they felt no responsibility for the parents' divorce. The more intact adolescents were concerned

about their future as marital partners and their adequacy as a sexual partner. The divorce process seemed to force a precipitous deidealization of the parents. It forced the adolescent to individualize his parents. At the initial interview more than half of the adolescents were conflicted by allegiance and loyalty struggles. At follow-up a year later most had disengaged themselves from such loyalty conflicts. A common defense against the painful experience of the divorce was withdrawal and distancing. The authors felt this was necessary for the adolescent to maintain the integrity of his development. The degree of parental regression was directly related to poorer adjustment in the adolescents.

At the five year follow-up, 58 of the original 60 families were again studied. Wallerstein and Kelly (1979) reported that 34% of the children had regained a sense of well being and self-confidence. Another 37% of the children were judged to be suffering from a moderate to severe depression which was manifested in a variety of behaviors including sexual promiscuity, delinquency in the form of drug abuse and stealing, alcoholism, chronic and pronounced unhappiness, poor learning, intense anger, and unremitting neediness. The remaining 29% had resumed appropriate developmental progress. However, even these children continued to experience intermittent feelings of sadness and resentment toward one or both parents.

Wallerstein and Kelly did not employ a comparison or control group so the uniqueness of the outcomes to divorce is difficult to estimate. When age and sex controls are employed the samples become quite small. Another problem is that clinical interviews cannot be easily replicated since data collection and interpretation relied on the authors' clinical skills. However, the clinical skills of Wallerstein and Kelly are considered by some to be a strength rather than a limitation of the study (Levitin, 1979).

CHARACTERISTIC REACTIONS OF CHILDREN TO DIVORCE:
FINDINGS OF THE WALLERSTEIN AND KELLY STUDY

1) One Year Follow-Up

Characteristic Reactions to Divorce

Preschool 2½ - 6 Years N = 34	Preschool children were frightened, confused, and blamed themselves. There was a great need for physical contact with adults. Children expressed fears of being sent away or being replaced. Only 5- and 6-year-olds were able to express feelings and to understand some of the divorce-related changes (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1975)
Early Latency 7-8 years N = 25	Children expressed feelings of sadness and loss, fear and insecurity. They felt abandoned and rejected, although they did not blame themselves. They had difficulty in expressing their anger toward their fathers. They felt angry at their mothers for sending the fathers away, but were afraid of incurring their mothers' wrath. They held an intense desire for the reconciliation of their parents, believing that the family was "necessary for their safety and continued growth" (Kelly and Wallerstein, 1976).

Later Latency 9-11 years N = 31	Later latency children had a more realistic understanding of divorce and were better able to express their feelings of intense anger. They did not feel responsible for the divorce, but were ashamed and morally outraged by their parents' behavior. Their loyalties were divided between the parents and they frequently felt lonely and rejected. They used age-appropriate coping mechanisms including a conscious layering of psychological functioning (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1976).
Adolescence 12-18 years N = 21	Adolescents were the most openly upset by the divorce. They expressed strong feelings of anger, sadness, shame and embarrassment. Divorce forced the adolescents to see their parents as individuals and to reassess their relationships with each parent. They also re-examined their own values and concepts about what is a good marital relationship. Most were able to disengage themselves from their parents' conflict by a year following the divorce (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1974).

2) Five-Year Follow-Up

101 children - 34 per cent of children are happy and thriving, 29 per cent are doing reasonably well, and 37 per cent are depressed (Wallerstein and Kelly, 1980).

Source: Adapted from an original table in Longfellow (1979, Table 17-3 p. 301).

Summary

In summary, the majority of the father absent studies conceptualized the female-headed family as pathological and homogeneous. The deficit structure approach of this research produced several conceptual problems. First, the single-parent family (the father-absent family) was not viewed as a form to be studied in its own right. It warranted investigation because of its deviance from the traditional two parent family. Such a conceptual framework emphasizes negative outcomes and the problems of the single parent family.

Second, the single parent status was conceptualized as the most important thing about these families. Differences such as the reason for single parent status, degree of father absence, social class, presence of other male models, and the relationships of the child to both divorced parents were given little attention. Female-headed families were viewed as homogeneous.

The third problem was the utilization of a linear causal model which used a single static variable, father absence, to explain a particular negative outcome such as delinquent behavior. Multiple related causes and multiple outcomes of child behavior were rarely investigated.

Blechman (1982) has pointed out that the commonly used correlational designs do not incorporate the conceptual model of causation which flows

from child to parent rather than parent to child. For example, temperamentally difficult children may encourage their parents to divorce. Spanier and Glick (1982) found that families with girls were more likely to divorce than those with at least one male child.

The conceptual problems in the father absence literature led to methodological problems such as inadequate controls for socioeconomic status, failure to distinguish types of father absence (death, divorce, never married) and failure to use comparison groups.

The earlier father absence studies of the 1950's and 1960's conclude that children from fatherless homes are more maladjusted than children from intact homes. The more recent studies of father-absent homes have been less subject to the methodological and conceptual problems of the earlier studies and tend to report no differences between the two groups.

Due to the mixed results of the father absence literature, no broad generalizations can be made about its effect on children (Herzog & Sudia, 1973; Lamphitz, 1978; Shinn, 1978; Cashion, 1982; & Blechman, 1982). However, the father absence literature has suggested some factors associated with different outcomes for children that should be considered in future research such as the family's socioeconomic status, parental conflict both before and after divorce, and the nature of the relationship between the child and the "absent" parent. Recent research has begun to focus on the strengths of single-parent families and does not automatically assume that children with one parent will fare more poorly than children in two-parent families. The focus has begun to shift from exclusively attributing negative outcomes to family form toward examining the factors which may mediate the consequences of father absence.

Economic distress and lack of support systems are two mediating factors which deserve more research attention. The role of familial and extrafamilial support systems (both economic and nonoeconomic) in promoting the adjustment of children in a one-parent family should be explored.

One example is a recent study (McLanahan, Wedemeyer, & Adelberg, 1981) identifying three types of network structures which were adaptive for 45 single mothers. These network types provided the mothers with three kinds of support: direct services, emotional supports and social integration. Direct services were defined as material aid and advice. Emotional supports were defined as behavior which promoted feelings of security and self-esteem. Social integration referred to the receipt of new information and new social contacts plus access to community supports.

The family of origin network was one adaptive type which involved either a physical move back into the parental household or a psychological reunion with one's relatives. Such a support network was composed almost entirely of kinship ties. The extended network type was composed primarily of new friendship ties. Although this type may include relatives, the ex-spouse and predivorce friends, it is characterized by a heavy concentration of new female friends, especially single mothers. The third adaptive network structure which was a source of support was the conjugal network. This type was distinguished by the presence of a male who is perceived as the major provider of support. The male may be a spouse equivalent who lives with the mother, the ex-spouse or someone she

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dated for a long time.

The three network structures were seen as adaptive for these women because they "fit" their role orientation. Those women who were career oriented and were seeking a new identity preferred network structures based primarily on new friendship ties. Those who desired to maintain their predivorce roles preferred more closeknit structures such as the family of origin network. These findings suggested that factors such as marital status, household status, proximity of relatives and frequency of contact are not by themselves useful as measures of the quality of social supports.

What can be done to meet the special needs of single-parent families?

The research on single-parent families has implications for social policy and practice. If children reared by one parent are at risk because many single parents are low income, poorly educated women, then policies to provide employment and educational opportunities for women are needed. If children are at risk because of a developmental need for socialization by two opposite sex parents, then we must develop incentives for men to stay involved with their families. If these children are no more at risk than children reared in comparable two parent families, then we should work to end the stereotyping and public bias against single parents, especially female-headed families.

The purpose of this unit is not to develop social policy recommendations or to suggest intervention strategies at the macro level. The emphasis is on the family as the unit of intervention. Because of the important role family systems theory currently plays in research and therapy (e.g., Broderick & Smith, 1979; Olson, Sprenkle & Russell, 1979). We have chosen to illustrate its applicability for intervention with single-parent families. First, a description of major concepts of family systems theory will be presented. Second, the organization of the multiproblem poor family, which is usually female-headed, will be described. Then family systems concepts will be applied to case examples to demonstrate their utility for assessment and intervention.

THE SINGLE PARENT FAMILY

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THE SINGLE PARENT FAMILY

Annotated Bibliography

Gardner, R.A. The Boys and Girls Book About One-Parent Families. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1978. (In Cor[illegible]back)

This book is designed to be read by children who have reached the third or fourth grade reading level. However, it is sophisticated enough to be helpful for parents as well as children. The book begins with an introduction to parents which prepares them to use the book as a resource for discussions with their children regarding the problems and issues in one-parent families. Although Dr. Gardner, a child psychiatrist, gives advice for dealing with problems, this is not a do-it-yourself therapy manual. The three major sections of the book address issues for families in which a parent is absent due to death, separation or divorce, or never having been married. Dr. Gardner deals with practical problems, such as finances and social relationships as well as the emotional dynamics in each family type.

Other books also written by Gardner which may be helpful for parents and children are:

Gardner, R.A. The Boys and Girls Book about Divorce. New York: Bantam Books, 1980. (In paperback).

Gardner, R.A. The Boys and Girls Book about Step-families. New York: Bantam Books, 1982. (In paperback)

Wallerstein, J.S., & Kelly, J.B. Surviving the Break-Up: How Parents and Children Cope with Divorce. New York: Basic Books, 1980. (In paperback)

The goal of the authors in this book was to report on childrens' and parents' responses to divorce. The book discusses the results of their longitudinal study of 60 families (including 131 children) from the time of separation to the five year follow-up. Each child and both custodial and noncustodial parents were studied. A strength of the book is the delineation of the reactions of children at each developmental level--preschool, latency and adolescence. The authors found that the childrens' adjustment was more positive when (1) children retained free access to both parents, and (2) parental conflict was controlled. The book is written to appeal to a lay audience and would be appropriate for any middle-class family facing divorce.

For those wishing to read the more technical and theory oriented reports of the study, the following articles are recommended:

Wallerstein, J.S., & Kelly, J.B. The effects of parental divorce: The adolescent experience. In J. Anthony, C. Koupernik (Eds.). The Child in his Family: Children of Psychiatric Risk. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974.

Wallerstein, J.S., & Kelly, J.B. The effects of parental divorce: Exper-

tences of the preschool child. Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 1975, 14, 600-616.

For a review of the divorce literature:

Wallerstein, J.S., & Kelly, J.B. Children and Divorce: A Review. Social Work, 1979, 24(6), 468-475.

Weiss, R.S. Going It Alone: The Family Life and Social Situation of the Single-Parent. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979.

The primary use of this book for professionals and for a lay audience is to develop understanding of the single-parent situation. The book is based on interviews with over 200 single-parents and about 40 children growing up in one-parent homes. It is representative of both low-income and middle-income single-parent experiences. Many quotes from the single-parents themselves add to the authenticity and readability of the book. The first two sections of the book present mainly background information on the ways in which people become single parents and the functioning of their households, including parent-child relationships and relationships between former spouses. The third section focuses on the social lives of the single-parent while the fourth section discusses the stresses faced in parenting alone. Advice for coping with stressors is given. The book appears to provide something useful for all single parents.

Children of Divorce. Special Issue of the Journal of Social Issues, 1979, 35(4).

The articles in this special issue are devoted to the consequences of divorce for children. The issue begins with a well-written review of the divorce literature by T. E. Levitan. Other articles by Hetherington, Hess, and Camara, and Robert Weiss focus on process variables rather than family form. The "divorce as disaster" viewpoint is discarded; mediating factors such as family relationships and coping skills of children and parents are emphasized. The reader will get a sense of the past research and a feel for the trend of the research in the 1980's.

The following reviews of the single-parent literature are recommended because of the thoroughness of their coverage, their organization and the implications for practice.

Cashion, B.G. Female-headed families: Effects on Children and Clinical Implications. Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, April, 1982, 77-85.

Herzog, E., & Sudia, C.E. Children in fatherless families. In B. M. Caldwell, & H. N. Ricciuti (Eds.). Review of Child Development Research, Vol. III. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

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MRS. SHIRLEY L. SMITH,
Cherry Point, N.C., December 28, 1983.

MS. LINDA ITTNER,
U.S. House of Representatives, Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, House Office Building, Annex 2, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MS. ITTNER: Thank you for the opportunity to submit testimony on "Paternal Absence and Fathers' Roles". Please find enclosed my testimony which was prepared with the assistance of Major W. H. Green and Major J. S. Anderson, from the Staff of the Second Marine Aircraft Wing.

The copies of other military related testimony that you enclosed in your letter of November 28, 1983 are very informative. When all of the testimony collection on "Paternal Absence and Fathers' Roles" is available, please send selected additional segments at your convenience.

Again, thank you for the opportunity to submit testimony. In the future if I may be of assistance please contact me.

Sincerely,

SHIRLEY L. SMITH.

Enclosure.

In its role as the nation's Force in Readiness, the United States Marine Corps is an elite force, and, as such, holds traditional values as important and integral elements of its existence. One such traditional value is the creed of taking care of our own.

Taking care of our own is a philosophy that is taught and reemphasized continuously throughout a Marine's career. As a result of this training, Marines believe that letting a fellow Marine down is worse than failure in themselves. This belief extends beyond military duties, to include the entire Marine Corps family. So, in essence, every Marine believes that he has an obligation not only to his fellow Marines, but to their families as well. This fundamental aspect of being a Marine frames the value we place on our family related programs.

With the value of the Marine and their families in mind, let's look first at the organization that family programs support, and how the family shares in the Marines contribution to the readiness of that organization, the Second Marine Amphibious Force and the Second Marine Aircraft Wing. As the source of aviation forces for the Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic, the Wing provides the Aviation Combat Element for a Marine Air Ground Task Force (MAGTF), which is a task organized unit with Aviation, Ground and Combat Service support elements. Depending upon the size force and operational requirements the Marine Air Ground Task Force may be a Marine Amphibious Force (MAF), Marine Amphibious Brigade (MAB), or Marine Amphibious Unit (MAU). Typically the MAF employs a full Wing as the Aviations Combat Element while the other MAGTF's employ successively smaller aviation elements, respectively.

The Second Marine Aircraft Wing which provides the Aviation Combat Forces of the Marine Amphibious Force and in this case Fleet Marine Force, Atlantic, is comprised of eight Groups that have 54 separate units (squadron/battalion/detachment) home based at three separate sites: Marine Corps Air Station, Cherry Point, N.C., Marine Corps Air Station (Helicopter), New River, N.C., and Marine Corps Air Station, Beaufort, S.C.

Our population is made up of approximately 17,300 personnel; 8700 of whom are married, a minimum of 110 of whom are single parents, and 525 of whom are married to another service member. Approximately one-half of our Marines and Sailors have immediate families with them at one of the three home base locations. These Marines and the squadrons/battalions/detachments they form, see duty all over the world and under a variety of conditions.

COMBAT DUTY

Possibility is ever-present.
Could happen at any time (when is unknown).
Duration is unknown.
Location is unknown.
Threat to life and limb of the Marine is real.
Could deploy with his unit or as an individual.

OPERATIONAL DEPLOYMENT (SUCH AS DUTY IN LEBANON)

Possibility is ever-present.

Could happen at any time or the actual departure date could be known well in advance.
Duration is normally known but can be unexpectedly extended at any time.
Threat to life and limb of the Marine is real.
Normally deploys with his unit, but could deploy individually.
Could be a routine deployment that unexpectedly is placed into a dangerous environment.
Normally two such deployments of approximately six months each occur in a normal tour of duty from one of the three bases identified above.

UNACCOMPANIED TOURS TO THE WESTERN PACIFIC

A twelve month dependents' restricted tour every 5–7 years.
Normally known of in advance.
Deploys as an unaccompanied individual.
Normally to Iwakuni or Okinawa, Japan.
Can take his family if he pays all associated costs (most leave families in the states).
Earns an overseas control date.
Is considered a permanent change of station, so two family moves within 12–14 months can occur.

UNIT DEPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Two six month unit deployments to the Western Pacific with 12–18 months between each.
Deploys with his unit.
Normally known of well in advance.
Family stays in place throughout the deployment.
Includes predeployment preparation.

TRAINING EXERCISES

Can occur any time.
Duration can last from a few days to several weeks or months.
Can be in CONUS or overseas.
Normally deploys with his unit.
Normally known of well in advance.
Can occur several times a year (especially in unique units/Military Occupational Specialties).
Includes pre-unit deployment preparation.

INDIVIDUAL TEMPORARY ADDITIONAL DUTY

Done individually.
Can last from a few days to several weeks.
Can be known of in advance.
Can be no-notice requirement.

SCHOOLING

Done individually.
Can last from a few days to several weeks.
Normally known of in advance.

The above show a variety of reasons for the absence of a Marine from his family. Each absence is unique in and of itself and presents the Marine and his family a new set of problems and decisions. The manner in which problems are resolved and decisions made determines the way Marines and families accept and endure the separation.

Due to the variety and types of absences, it is apparent that at any given moment in time, from 20–60% of the members of this Wing are away from their homes and therefore away from their families. The majority of these absences are organized by unit, with each unit actually being a small community.

This community concept is very similar to the command relationships in that we have a larger Wing community that is made up of eight Group communities, each of which is comprised of its separate unit communities. These unit communities provide an excellent climate for unified support from and for the families when the Marine/Sailor is absent.

These Marines, Sailors, and their families are the concern of every level of command and are the primary focal point of the Family Readiness Program. While the Family Readiness Program is designed to assist in a variety of areas, there is one area that affects the family more than any other—the absence of its Marine/Sailor. Each type of absence creates its own unique stress for the Marine and his family. This stress can be the cause of significant problems and has the potential for adverse effects on unit readiness and individual performance.

It is this very climate and philosophy that led to the establishment of our Family Readiness Program.

The Family Readiness Program encompasses a "Key Wives" organization within the unit, and a system of family assistance which includes a series of predeployment briefs, and identification of resources available.

The Key Wives organization is the essential and base element of the Family Readiness Program, a corps of trained spouses, organized by unit, that is officially recognized and assisted by the various levels of command.

The Key Wives perform the following functions:

They help establish the unit's community, or family, and mold it into a mutually supportive cohesive association. This association nurtures the concern for taking care of our own and demonstrates to the individual Marine, his/her family and the single Marine that the unit is a caring organization, with a single mission, that does see to the wellbeing of its members.

They provide a base of experience and training (primarily from the older spouses) that can offer invaluable guidance in a variety of areas both in the civilian and military communities.

They establish and maintain a communications network for mutual support, aid, and sharing of information.

They provide an informal interface between the Marine Corps and the families during all absences.

They provide mutual support as a substitute for that support lost when the service member is absent.

They are there to help solve problems at the lowest level.

They help provide/coordinate healthy activities, especially during deployments. Some examples are picnics, family days, outings, Christmas Parties, etc.

The effectiveness of the Key Wives Organization is not limited to the spouses action only. It is a valuable tool for the unit commander. Some of the functions/benefits it can provide the commander are:

Can help purify personal/family information files.

Can establish committees for: Transportation, hospitality, car care, emergency referral, and problem solving.

Saves the commander's time.

Assists the commander in dealing with Marines who are single parents or in joint households.

Presents feedback on the social climate.

Can create an all-wives club for the entire unit.

To better equip the Key Wives to support the unit, a Training Program is provided which encompasses elements of: stress and time management, helping and listening skills, and referal techniques for assisting those who need assistance beyond the scope of the Key Wives organization.

An essential element of the organization of Key Wives is its all ranks coverage. Spouses of Marines of all ranks are utilized as Key Wives in order to further the sense of a total integrated community.

But, perhaps the greatest single product of the Family Readiness Program is its ability to provide unified, organized, effective support for the families when their Marines are deployed. This support covers a multitude of areas, but is so very successful because of one factor: At the unit level it is founded, managed, and implemented by families-wives that are in the same situation. There is a cohesion and singleness of purpose that can not be provided from external sources. Those that are sharing in an experience can truly appreciate it, and, therefore, deal with it.

How can our nation help in the establishment and maintenance of programs specifically designed to enhance the welfare of our Marine Corps Family (and all Military families)?

First; by realizing that military family life is unique and stress laden. As recent, tragic events have so dramatically underscored, there is an ever present threat that our service members can unexpectedly become casualties.

Second; by establishment of federally funded programs to aid the service members and their families. Any costs associated with such program should be viewed as in-

vestments in our nation's security, because our most precious resource is our people, and these investments will pay for themselves in the long run.

The Family Readiness Program within the Second Marine Aircraft Wing is the embodiment of the "take care of our own" philosophy. But beyond any amount of rhetoric, is the fact that the program is effective. The positive, morale enhancing impact on the families of our Marines ultimately affects their readiness to cope with the numerous deployments and absences facing us all. This increased family readiness directly and positively improves our combat readiness, since the Marines know that their families are well prepared for the challenges facing them. By way of example: before the Family Readiness Program was started, a deployed unit of 215 Marines found it necessary to return 19 Marines to their home base over a three month period due to family problems. By comparison, a deployed unit of 129 Marines only found it necessary to return one Marine during a 6 month deployment. The reassurance from the family programs free the Marine concerns thereby allowing him to concentrate his total energies and attention on the mission.

ACADEMY OF ASSOCIATED PSYCHOTHERAPISTS,
San Diego, Calif., December 3, 1983.

Ms. LINDA ITTNER,
Professional Staff, Economic Security Task Force, Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, House Office Building, Annex 2, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MS. ITTNER: I was happy to hear our conversations assisted in your planning the hearing of the Economic Security Task Force meeting on "Paternal Absence and Fathers' Roles."

My apologies for not being able to attend the hearing on November 10th, but you had good a representative for military families in the person of Shauna Whitworth!

Thank you for inviting me to submit written testimony for the record, which I would like to do. Enclosed with this letter is a typescript of a recent personal interview with me by the Public Relations division of my University (United States International University), written by Anne Slavicek. Ms. Slavicek has given permission to have the materials included as part of the Congressional record of the hearing.

I believe this information is particularly relevant to the topic you were addressing, and I am delighted to have the opportunity to forward it on to you.

A Happy Holiday Season to you and yours.

Sincerely,

E. J. HUNTER, Ph.D.

Enclosure.

Re Written testimony on "Paternal Absence and Fathers' Roles" (Military) based on Press Release dated November 30, 1983, by Anne Slavicek, Public Relations, United States International University, San Diego.

From: Edna J. Hunter, Ph.D., Director, Family Research Center, United States International University. Director, Academy of Associated Psychotherapists, San Diego, Calif.

To: Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families.

WHAT MILITARY FAMILIES CAN TEACH US ABOUT RELOCATION AND SEPARATION

Your family will better cope with a major move or with one parent living away from home, if you copy some of the family survival techniques used by families in the military.

That's the suggestion of Dr. Edna J. Hunter, a psychologist whose studies of military families have shown such families to be emotionally closer and more cohesive than the average civilian family.

"Understanding how the military family learns to adjust to its unusual stresses can perhaps assist civilian families in learning how to cope," Dr. Hunter says. Director of the Family Research Center at United States International University in San Diego, Dr. Hunter has written seven books and more than 80 articles studying military families.

Some of her suggestions for coping with separations and moving include:

Keep a role open for the missing parent. While day-to-day decisions must be made, a special effort should be made to keep a missing parent involved in family decisions.

Maintain family rules and rituals. "If you have always eaten dinner together as a family before your move, continue to do so. And celebrate birthdays and holidays even if one parent can't be there," Hunter advises.

Recognize that each child will have a different reaction to moving or to being separated from one parent. Studies show boys and girls have quite different reactions to having their father absent for extended periods. Boys whose fathers are absent tend to identify more with their mothers. Also researchers found that the oldest child is usually the one most affected by separation, Hunter explains.

To keep family communication open, make sure the absent parent is informed of changes. And, to keep children informed, an absent parent should write individual letters to each child or take time to talk to each child by long distance.

Acknowledge the feelings each family member has about moving or being separated.

Recognize that the return of a parent is even more stressful than the separation, Hunter warns. "Families need to be aware that there may even be competition among the children and the mother for affection from a returning father, for example," Hunter says.

Reserve the first week after a move or after a parent returns for family activities. "Try not to have work, relatives or friends competing with children for parent's attention," she suggests.

Mothers must realize that how well they adjust will have a direct bearing on how well their children adjust. "A mother's distress caused by an impending or actual move can be transmitted even to an infant or toddler," Hunter says.

While parents need to be aware that relocation can be a hinderance to educational goals and scholastic achievement, they can be heartened by the fact that relocation also broadens the life experiences, values, and acceptance of other people by older children, Hunter says.

"Once you have learned these tricks from successful military families you will be less vulnerable to the stresses caused by geographic mobility," Hunter concludes.

MILITARY CHILDREN: DEPENDENTS OR INDEPENDENCE?

If you feel sorry for military children who are separated from one parent and/or forced to move frequently, you may be misdirecting your pity.

Children whose parents are serving in the military are more flexible, more mature and have a closer family life than most children from civilian families, according to studies of military families.

"Contrary to the popular perception military children are not ignored," explains Dr. Edna J. Hunter, director of the marriage and family therapy programs at United States International University in San Diego.

Dr. Hunter explains that military children are similar to the children of a small town minister—everything the military child does is subject to close scrutiny.

"The child, especially if he or she lives on a military post, is constantly supervised. That's because a 14-year-old boy's mischief can reflect on his father's military career. For military families the home and work environments are much more closely related than for civilians," she said.

Hunter explains that extensive research into military family life has only been going on for 15 years, and she says that there is a need for additional research specifically aimed at children of military parents. Hunter has studied families of prisoners of war and of military personnel declared missing in action, and she has also studied families in which the father was at sea for extended periods.

Hunter says the strong character traits she has found in children from military families are directly related to the closeness of the families and to support available to them. Family Service Centers are being opened by all branches of the military to provide services such as counseling, information on identification cards, or help with moving for military families. The centers and other services designed to keep families happy in the volunteer military are an outgrowth of research Hunter and others have done about military families.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT UNIT,
THE CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL,
Boston, Mass., December 29, 1983.

Congresswoman PATRICIA SCHROEDER,
Chairperson, Economic Security Task Force, Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, House Office Building, Annex 2, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN SCHROEDER: At the hearings of the Economic Security Task Force of the House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families on "Paternal Absence and Father's Role," you and several of your colleagues requested specific, succinct policy recommendations to increase and sustain father involvement with children and youth. Different vehicles (i.e., tax incentives, tax deductions, federal regulations, funding for new programs) can be used to implement the varying policy goals outlined in my written testimony of 11/10/83. Each vehicle may reach different subgroups of people. Based on my testimony and on discussions with Mr. James Levine of the Fatherhood Projects, I am now suggesting some preliminary federal initiatives which need more careful analysis to determine which methods would most effectively reach the intended recipients:

1. Tax incentives to employers to encourage the provision of short term paid parental leave to fathers as well as mothers at the time of childbirth.

2. Through federal regulations, tax incentives, or other inducements, the encouragement of employers to change sick day benefits to personal leave benefits allowing fathers to stay home to care for ill children or to be absent for half days to take ill children for medical care.

3. To establish demonstration programs (through direct grants) aimed at providing parent education and support to fathers as well as mothers, to study the effectiveness of these programs in reaching and involving fathers, and to use that as one basis for allocating funds for parent education programs.

4. To establish demonstration programs (through direct grants) for school age children (elementary and high school) that provide training in childcare and child development as part of the curriculum for boys as well as girls.

5. To change the health insurance plan reimbursement incentives so that counselling and human service consultations (for fathers as well as mothers) are reimbursed on an equal basis with medical/technical diagnostic procedures. (For further information, see the Report of the Select Panel for the Promotion of Child Health, to the U.S. Congress and the Secretary of HHS, Vol. I, pages 14, 322.) During stress, access to such services may be critical to preventing the withdrawal of fathers from their children.

6. To provide incentives to employers to provide or facilitate access to quality child care.

7. To establish as research priorities for appropriate federal agencies the study of:

(a) the degree of paternal involvement in preschool and school settings, and the effects of outreach programs on sustaining father involvement with school age and adolescent children.

(b) the impact of parental shift work on children, on the quality of child care and on the risks to child health and development.

8. Increased funding for federal work training programs to provide meaningful job security for all employable men.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL W. YOGMAN, M.D.,
Associated Chief, Division of Child Development, Children's Hospital, Assistant Professor of Pediatrics, Harvard Medical School.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE MILLER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES

Today's hearing adds an important component to the knowledge base of this committee.

It is appropriate that we look at the subject of paternal absence and fathers' roles. Fathers are obviously critical to every family, to every child. We know their role is changing as cultural attitudes about roles change, and as more and more mothers work. We strongly sense their importance to the healthy emotional development of a child, but we don't know exactly what the elements of that development are. We know that many more children now live in single parent homes, which further reduces grealy the opportunities for interaction.

Our panels of experts should help answer some of our basic questions. We are also adhering to a format that has proven successful, and which all members seem to enjoy.

We will first get an overview of the research on this issue. They, we'll look at specific effects that paternal absence has on children in general, and also more particularly, in military families. Finally, we will look once again to programs, in the private sector, that successfully deal with some of the problems raised by paternal absence.

I think it is an important subject and a well designed format, and look forward to proceeding.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. DAN MARRIOTT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF UTAH, AND RANKING MINORITY MEMBER OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES

I would like to thank Congresswoman Schroeder and Congressman Dan Coats for their initiative and concern in holding this hearing on paternal absence, and for working so diligently to ensure that we were able to hear from this outstanding panel of witnesses. I welcome all the witnesses, especially General John A. Wickham, Jr., Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, and Professor Michael Lamb from the University of Utah in my home district of Salt Lake City.

Today we will learn about some of the effects on children of growing up without their fathers. We will also hear about some programs that are designed to offset the consequences of father absence. Children living without their fathers lose some of the love, companionship, and guidance that fathers provide. Research points out that children without fathers can have problems in school that other children don't have. They can also have trouble getting along with other children, and in developing appropriate roles as men and women.

Throughout today's hearing, it is important to remember that not all children with absent fathers have problems. Many of them do well in school, do not get in trouble with the law, and grow up to be productive members of society. However, when a crisis does occur in these children's lives, it can be more difficult for them than for their peers who live with the day-to-day support of their fathers.

We also cannot overlook the fact that children who are living without their fathers may not be as economically well off as those with father at home. In 1981, the median income for families where only the mother was present was $8,653. Families with both parents present earned a median income of $25,636. That's a $17,000 difference we cannot ignore. The Federal Government simply cannot reasonably make up these emotional and economic deficits by itself. But we can learn about and encourage programs and policies that will help families stay together and ensure that this gap is closed for those who are without their father's support.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT UNIT,
THE CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL,
Boston, Mass., December 28, 1983.

Congressman DAN MARRIOTT,
Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MARRIOTT: At the hearings of the Economic Security Task Force of the House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families on "Paternal Absence and Father's Role," you and several of your collegues requested specific, succinct policy recommendations to increase and sustain father involvement with children and youth. Different vehicles (i.e., tax incentives, tax deductions, federal regulations, funding for new programs) can be used to implement the varying policy goals outlined in my written testimony of 11/10/83. Each vehicle may reach different subgroups of people. Based on my testimony and on discussions with Mr. James Levine of the Fatherhood Project, I am now suggesting some preliminary federal initiatives which need more careful analysis to determine which methods would most effectively reach the intended recipients:

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5. To change the health insurance plan reimbursement incentives so that counselling and human service consultations (for fathers as well as mothers) are reimbursed on an equal basis with medical/technical diagnostic procedures. (For futher information, see the Report of the Select Panel for the Promotion of Child Health, to the U.S. Congress and the Secretary of HHS, Vol. I, pages 14, 322). During stress, access to such services may be critical to preventing the withdrawal of fathers from their children.

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(a) the degree of paternal involvement in preschool and school settings, and the effects of outreach programs on sustaining father involvement with school age and adolescent children;

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8. Increased funding for federal work training programs to provide meaningful job security for all employable men.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL W. YOGMAN, M.D.,

Associate Chief, Division of Child Development, Children's Hospital, Assistant Professor of Pediatrics, Harvard Medical School.